

# SOCIAL FORCES

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## SOCIOLOGISTS IN THE PRESENT CRISIS\*

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IN OCTOBER, 1940, Robert M. MacIver, then President of the American Sociological Society, appointed a special committee on Participation of Sociologists in the National Emergency; it was headed by Joseph K. Folsom. Though seriously handicapped in time and funds, this committee did some fine preliminary work on a problem which is bound to concern us for some time to come. Its report, which is published in the April issue of the *American Sociological Review*, urged definite steps to secure increased employment of sociologists in the Federal civil service. In line with the committee's recommendation a resolution was adopted and sent to the United States Civil Service Commission; a new committee was authorized to cooperate with the Commission; and members of the Society were urged to fill out and return promptly the questionnaire for the National Roster of Scientific and Specialized Personnel. Sociologists were also advised to watch all announcements of relevant civil service examinations, Federal, state, and local, both for themselves and for their students.

As to the new Committee on Cooperation with the United States Civil Service

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Commission, its chairman and one other member are now in the Federal service. The three academic members are thoroughly familiar with the problems involved. It is expected that this committee will aid in the classifying of positions wherein sociological knowledge and skills may be utilized to advantage; that it will make known to various Federal agencies the nature of these skills and bodies of knowledge; that it will convey to members of our group information about openings in government service. Whether the term sociologist will become one of the major categories used by the Civil Service Commission I have no idea, but I am confident that something worth while will emerge from the work of our committee.

But the report of last year's committee was by no means confined to the employment of sociologists in the Federal and other civil service. It dealt also with modifications in our present programs of teaching, research, and extra-curricular activities:

The greatest impact of the emergency upon sociologists now in academic life will probably be to change somewhat the emphasis in their teaching and the selection of their research and other activities. It . . . is the sense of this Committee that those engaged upon important, long-range research should not sacrifice this for the sake of some more immediate usefulness related to the emergency. . . . At the

same time, many sociologists may feel they could make themselves more useful by changing the direction of their efforts temporarily away from intensive studies of narrow scope to the better organization and wider dissemination of practical knowledge about our present social organization. . . .<sup>1</sup>

With this statement I find myself in hearty agreement. But I am less in accord with the proposal "that sociology departments give more attention to training students in practical administration." During World War I, some of us participated as sociologists in the giving of short courses for Red Cross workers and others. At the time they may have been necessary and nothing better may have been available. But as we look back on our performance we are not very proud of what was done. Too often, in our ignorance of social-work techniques and administrative procedure, we offered our hearers polysyllabic substitutes for vital information. Sometimes we failed to distinguish sociological theory, with which we were fairly familiar, from social technology, about which we were pretty vague. At other times we were really aware of the discrepancy, but we could not resist the temptation to assume a new place in the sun, and sought to conceal our limitations under a camouflage of pseudo-profundity. It was not all so bad as that, but I should hate to see the same mistake repeated.

Another proposal considered by the special committee was that when young sociologists are drafted "an effort be made to assign them to such military duties as will both utilize their special research abilities and keep them in touch with lines of research in which they may be already engaged." This statement does not appear in the published report of the committee. Perhaps it was omitted for reasons which I am about to suggest:

The Army is hardly a research agency; it is an organization charged with getting things done as promptly and effectively as possible. The first thing for the new recruit is to become a good soldier as quickly as he can. Thereafter he may well be assigned to special tasks. For example, there are numerous problems of morale which merit careful study by social psychologists. But I suspect they can best be studied by men who are *both* social psychologists and soldiers. Otherwise the research is likely to overlook vital issues and to yield dubious results. All this is incidental, but it does suggest the importance of being realistic in our thinking about the present crisis.

In response to the report made by Folsom at Chicago and published in the *Review* there have been quite varied reactions. Some members of our group apparently fear the decline of sociology from the lofty heights of pure science, down the slopes of applied science, to the valley of administrative drudgery. Others, with fewer illusions about sociology's present altitude and purity, are fearful lest participation in the controversial issues of the day injure both our capacity and our reputation for impartial analysis and reporting. Since we have only recently begun to escape from the realm of speculative argument into the realm of inductive reasoning based on concrete data, much may be said for this second position. A third set of opinions and attitudes may be symbolized by the phrase "business as usual." Whether this position represents a rational belief or an emotional escape is hard to tell. There may be sociologists who actually believe that fascism is a good form of social organization. (I do not know any such.) There may be some who dislike the Nazis heartily, but feel that they offer no real threat to America. (I do have some aca-

<sup>1</sup> *American Sociological Review*, VI (1941), p. 258.



demic friends of this stripe.) Perhaps others simply shut their eyes to the unpleasant events across the Atlantic and seek refuge in their ivory towers. (Such men ought never to be called sociologists.)

But there are other members of the American Sociological Society who take a position very different from any I have suggested so far. They hold that we should stir ourselves immediately and in very practical ways as a professional group. They would have us adopt resolutions directing the Federal Government in the way it should go. They would give very specific advice, e.g., about shipping food to France, making loans to China, breaking off relations with Germany and Japan, adopting Streit's program of "Union Now." Since the whole body of sociologists obviously cannot remain in continuous session, they would delegate this responsibility to some committee "with power to act." Moreover, since even a committee has its limitations, they think we should keep a paid, full-time representative in Washington to maintain close contact with public officials, to keep members of our craft informed about inside happenings, and to advise executives and legislators what to do. What they have in mind is illustrated by:

... the National Committee on Education and Defense organized jointly by the American Council on Education and the National Education Association. Appointed representatives of sixty national organizations function actively through an executive committee of eighteen, and special subcommittees on the following: military affairs, industrial training, women's colleges in the national defense, preparation of materials for pre-induction education, and preparation of teaching materials on democracy for high-school teachers. Professor Francis J. Brown, on leave of absence from New York University, is giving full time to the co-ordination of the activities of the National Committee and the national defense program. Statements of policy and recommendations are continually developed and disseminated by publications and conferences among the member

organizations and to government officials concerned with national defense. The American Council on Education publishes a bulletin 'Higher Education and National Defense' which seeks to interpret defense activities and their implications for higher education. The Executive Committee has been designated as the Subcommittee on Education of the War Department Committee on Education, Recreation and Community Service.<sup>2</sup>

This statement gives a glimpse of an ambitious program. For many reasons it is quite impossible for the American Sociological Society to attempt anything approaching it in scope. This is the undertaking not of one, but of sixty national organizations. The N.E.A. alone has a membership many times as large as ours. It has access to relatively large sums of money, while our resources are very meager. Perhaps our relation to the national defense program should be developed cooperatively through the Social Science Research Council, among whose members are three official representatives of our own Society. That would broaden the scope of activities in which we might share; but it would not, and, in my opinion, it should not involve duplication of the efforts of the National Committee on Education and Defense. If we were to imitate the character of the program undertaken by the educational associations, we would be no better than those sectarians who start an orphan asylum because their ecclesiastical rivals have one. If our major objective were institutional glory for our own Society, we would deserve, and no doubt receive, severe condemnation from many quarters. But it happens that the direction of thinking and action in the Social Science Research Council is quite different from that in the National Committee on Education and Defense. The two lines of effort neither duplicate nor conflict; instead, they should complement each

<sup>2</sup> From a manuscript prepared by Maurice T. Price in February, 1941.

other rather effectively. The Annual Report of the Social Science Research Council for 1939-40 opens with this paragraph:

Sharing deeply the concern of all Americans with public problems of great immediate import, and watchful for opportunities of useful service in national emergency, the Council during the past year prosecuted steadily as its primary task its program for development of scientific knowledge of human society. In pursuing this long-run objective the Council is making for public service the most effective use of its capacities. Science from its inception in astronomy has never ceased to broaden its scope through the inorganic and the organic worlds and stands now on the threshold of new advances in the social world. Scientific progress in this realm with its possibilities of intelligent direction of social institutions and forces is one of the essentials for the preservation of the freedom we cherish. The current crisis is a social convulsion due in no small measure to the lack of scientific knowledge of society. In view of the disruption of scientific work abroad which will prevail for years to come, it is upon America that depends success in extending the realm of science in the social fields.<sup>3</sup>

With an inclination in the direction pointed by the Social Science Research Council, but without being wholly committed to any particular program, the American Sociological Society has established another new committee, one on the Role of Sociologists in National Affairs. This committee has a much less definite, and hence more difficult, assignment. Its chairman is Carl C. Taylor, chosen because of his rich experience in teaching, research, and administration. The thirteen other members represent a wide variety of backgrounds and viewpoints. I regard them as men and women of vision and courage, with creative ability, and with their feet on the ground. This committee has not been authorized to take formal action in the name of the Society. Its duties are to inquire, deliberate, and recommend. If it discovers matters requiring action before

Christmas, it will present them through the Secretary to the Executive Committee. In any case it will offer its findings, conclusions, and recommendations to the Society at its next annual meeting in New York. It may advise us to take some action concerning governmental policies or procedures. It will certainly have something to say about research, teaching, and extra-curricular activities. I cannot predict what its proposals may be, nor do I wish to influence its thinking unduly. But just as one sociologist to another, I would like to discuss with you how, in this time of national emergency, we may most profitably modify existing programs of research, teaching, and public relations.

First let us consider the matter of research. There are some projects under way which have potentially so great significance for the development of sociology that only the most extraordinary circumstances should be permitted to interrupt their progress. For example, I cite the re-examination of Angell's study of upper-middle-class families in the depression. As may be recalled, he secured detailed accounts of what happened in fifty families represented in the student body of the University of Michigan. Empirically he worked out certain categories in accordance with which he classified these families as to integration, adaptability, and vulnerability. Both his methods and his findings are challenging, but not altogether convincing. Hence the Social Science Research Council is planning three kinds of checks on Angell's work. First, someone will go through the original case materials and see whether he arrives at the same categories and whether he classifies the fifty families in the same way. Second, someone else will attempt to work out rating scales to measure degrees of integration, adaptability, and vulnerability, in order to determine statistically

<sup>3</sup> Social Science Research Council, *Annual Report*, 1939-1940, p. 1.

whether there is any correlation between these items. A third person, one who is quite unfamiliar with Angell's study, will take the original records and proceed inductively, arriving at whatever conclusions he may reach without any reference to Angell's categories. The purpose is to see whether another competent scholar, working independently, will be led by the data to develop similar or different categories and whether he will use them in a similar or a different manner. By these three tests it is hoped to discover something as to the validity of the particular methods employed, the utility of the concepts developed, and the reliability with which families were assigned to given categories. Hence there is in prospect a very important contribution to methods of research. Moreover, the subject matter of the study, having to do with morale, group organization and disorganization, has implications of a very practical nature. Such a project or group of projects should not be disturbed, if that can be avoided.

But there are other fields of investigation which have more immediate, as well as possible lasting significance. Such is the field of propaganda analysis. It is important that we learn as much as we can as fast as we can about how to identify propaganda, how to trace it to its sources, how to infer its purposes, how to estimate its truth or falsehood. We need to know much more than we do about the ways in which different types of propaganda are handled, and what effects they have under given conditions. All this needs to be done very objectively, by methods which can be checked and rechecked. In such studies there should be examined propaganda which we like as well as propaganda which we dislike, propaganda on our side and propaganda on the enemy's side. The immediate objective of this sociological research is not to outline a program of

combating Nazi propaganda or of spreading democratic propaganda. It is to discover how propaganda works. But in so far as the research is successful it may be put to practical use by government, industry, church, or any other social institution.

Other fields of inquiry which may have both immediate and lasting values have to do with civil liberties, "patrioteering," race relations, intercultural relations in the Americas, morale, the processes of social control in democracies and in totalitarian states. With reference to all these it would be easy to descend to muckraking; the temptation would be great to push on from superficial surveys to the outlining of popular programs, to gloss over gaps in our knowledge, and to engage in exhortation that might be as ill-advised as it could be inspiring. In defining our task it is important to emphasize the gathering of facts, their classification, the correlation of series of data, and the establishment of recurrent sequences. Such research activities will not lead directly to the formulation of national or other policies. The formulae with which our work concludes are not of this pattern: We ought to do so and so, the Federal Government should adopt this or that program, the Red Cross should feed the starving Belgians, or the CIO should be suppressed. Instead, the pattern of our formulae will be: This is how things actually tend to operate; given X, you can expect Y; if you want A, you will probably have to accept B along with it; censorship of the news is possible, but with it people lose confidence in the press, etc., etc.

This sketchy treatment of research is no measure of its importance in these troubled times. But most of the working hours of the majority of sociologists are spent in teaching what has been discovered rather than in pushing out the frontiers of our knowledge. Here, too, it should be pos-



sible to reorganize our work so that we may contribute at the same time to an understanding of fundamental social processes and to a realization of what is happening in the world today. I would be very sorry to see our classrooms turned over to the teaching of "How to keep out of war," or "How to win a war," or "Why we should or should not give aid to Britain," or "How to maintain civilian morale," or "The blessings of democracy," and similar patriotic subjects. We shall be much wiser, in my opinion, if we devote ourselves to presentation of the results of research and to development in our students of the art of critical thinking. If the democratic way of life means anything in contrast to the totalitarian system, its distinctive character must rest on the opportunity and the ability of our citizens to distinguish fact from fiction and to reason logically from concrete facts to sound generalizations. If this be true, our task as teachers of sociology is not one of indoctrination, but of stimulating interest in social processes, introducing students to relevant data, showing them how to determine the reliability of these data, and helping them to use the data in answering questions and in reaching conclusions. There are some advantages in using teaching materials drawn from situations about which the students have no strong feelings. But, unless sociological hypotheses are employed in the interpretation of current issues, the whole subject may become stupid and futile. Moreover, it should not be unreasonable to hope that application of sociological principles to the analysis of contemporary affairs may aid in their clarification.

Let me illustrate with one of the issues mentioned as a field of research. Instead of exhorting our students to preserve their civil liberties, suppose we examine some of the circumstances under which people

are allowed considerable freedom of speech, etc., and then some of the circumstances under which they have very much less freedom. Thus we may lead our students to a much more realistic conception of civil liberties than by quoting to them a dozen polysyllabic definitions or having them read abstract discussions of the subject. Not that we should ignore the definitions of other scholars or fail to require the students to formulate definitions of their own. A mere collection of unorganized data is probably just as useless as a collection of abstract definitions. The data need to be organized, classified, compared; else they will not mean very much. Neither will abstract definitions memorized from textbook or lecture notes mean very much, unless they are tested by factual data from real life. Obviously in teaching, as in research, it is necessary to integrate fact-gathering and abstract thinking. But to proceed with the matter of civil liberties—having compared circumstances attending large and small degrees of freedom, we may go on to examine the characteristic events which follow liberal and repressive policies respectively. When our students see what actually happens in relation to a free press, for example, and compare it with what actually happens when the press is censored, they will probably make up their own minds and determine their own line of action. I have confidence that they will be more intelligent and more vigorous citizens as a result of this objective classroom procedure than they would be if we indulged in exhortation. Moreover, by the proper selection of data we can give such discussion of civil liberties a definite bearing on the present struggle between democracy and totalitarianism. Thus we can, by minding our own business and doing our regular work well, make a direct contribution toward victory over tyranny.

This is the spirit in which we may well

develop all phases of our teaching. Formulate problems of both theoretical and practical import, and utilize data from the actual life of real folks. However, we may err grievously if we restrict our data to those drawn from contemporary American society. It is important that we make comparative studies utilizing data from other times and other cultures, in order to escape from ethnocentrism and to "see ourselves as others see us."

Finally, let me say a few words about extra-curricular activities. Sociologists are citizens, just as lawyers, farmers, bricklayers, and bankers are. Just as inevitably and just as properly we hold and express opinions, engage in civic movements, participate in government. During this great emergency we will volunteer and we will be called upon to do many things outside of our ordinary work. I only hope that we will take part in the activities which we are most competent to share. Some of us will be soldiers, some statisticians, some conciliators in labor disputes; some will sell government bonds, some will raise funds for relief, some will administer relief, some will organize recreational programs, some will lobby for or against pending legislation. These things we will do as citizens, not as sociologists. Yet our

knowledge, our attitudes, and our skills in these areas cannot be unaffected by our experience as sociologists. We do not pretend or desire to achieve a dichotomous, much less a schizoid personality. But being sociologists does not *per se* equip us to do any of the things just mentioned; nor does doing them forfeit our right to be called sociologists. Such outside experience may greatly enrich our teaching and research, just as our academic experience may help us to render distinctive and valuable services to the community and the Nation.

In any case, let us neither hide away in an ivory tower nor sally forth with the idea that sociology will save the world. Let us pray that we may be spared both from inferiority feelings and from a Jehovah complex. Let us refrain from playing either with concepts or with unassorted facts. Let us guard against hasty generalizations, but, having arrived at a legitimate conclusion, let us offer it to the world for whatever it may be worth. The crisis is real; the emergency is great. We do not know what demands may be made upon us. But whatever tasks we are called upon to perform, let us undertake them courageously, modestly, intelligently.

#### POPULATION ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

At a meeting of the Population Association of America, held at Princeton, New Jersey, May 16 and 17, the following officers were elected: President—P. K. Whelpton; 1st Vice President—Frederick Osborn; 2nd Vice President—Dorothy S. Thomas; Secretary—Conrad Taeuber; Treasurer—Halbert L. Dunn.

## REALLOCATION OF POPULATION AND THE DEFENSE PROGRAM\*

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### I

OUR economic history, more clearly than that of any other nation of modern times, is the story of successive migrations. It is the story of mass movements of population, from other continents to this one, and from one part of this country to another. The early migrations that settled the country; the restless westward movement that developed it; and, more recently, the cityward movements of rural population, all bespeak the response of population to changes in our economy.

In all considerations of the causes and motivating influences of migration there runs an implied agreement that people in the mass move in response to differences of economic potential between areas. In some cases migration is explained as a flight from poverty; in others it is the lure of a gold rush, literal or figurative. In any case, it seems clear that masses of people move because they think that by so doing they will better themselves.

This relationship between economic changes and migration characterizes most of the important migrations in the history of the United States. The relationship has been apparent in the effect of business cycles in the United Kingdom and the United States on the migrations across the Atlantic. Similarly, the flow of Irish immigrants has been related to the famines

in Ireland, and the flow of southern and eastern Europeans to the overpopulation and poverty of those areas compared to the United States. In the history of our own country each of the periodic panics of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries generated a westward wave of impoverished victims of our own economic maladjustments.

The urban industrialization of the United States demanded a type of migration quite different from that by which the country was settled and developed. The insatiable demand of the industrial cities for more and more labor coincided with the emergency of population surpluses in agricultural areas. Especially after the stream of immigrants from Europe was reduced to a mere trickle, the expanding cities could be supplied only by migrants from the countryside. This migration was stimulated during the World War and continued through the 1920's. The last depression reduced the volume of these movements and in one year actually reversed their direction; but with the signs of returning prosperity the migration was resumed.

The fact is that migrations in the history of this country have been not only a means of relieving the pressure of economic distress and surplus population, but also a means of providing population, which is to say labor, where and when it was needed. As pointed out in *Migration and Economic Opportunity*, the fact that migration has proved an imperfect means of adjustment of population to economic opportunity should not obscure its importance or its effectiveness. The dramatic

\* Read before the Ninth Annual Meeting of the Population Association of America in Princeton, New Jersey, May 17, 1941. The opinions as expressed in this paper are those of the author and do not necessarily represent the official views of the Social Security Board.



and pathetic spectacle of thousands of Americans in flight from abject poverty toward an unknown and unattainable security, such as occurs during a depression, confuses the social implications of migration and beclouds its economic function.

It remains true that migration, as a form of social and economic mobility, has provided a fluidity which has made this a country of singular democratic opportunities. People on the move can scarcely be socially or economically caste-bound. The migration of rural population to an urban scene involves not only a change of residence but more frequently than not a change of occupation and of social status. It is this many-sided fluidity that has made possible the adjustment of the American people to their rapidly changing social and economic environment.

## II

A new wave of migration resulting from the National Defense program has been stimulated by employment opportunities especially in aircraft and shipbuilding, in heavy goods industry, and in large scale construction projects. Some indication of the extent of the expansion is given in the Bureau of Labor Statistics indices of factory employment which show that from March 1940 through March 1941 employment increased by 81 percent in the shipbuilding industry, by 133 percent in the aircraft industry, by 30 percent in machine production industries (excluding transportation equipment), and by 23 percent in iron and steel production.

In the early months of the defense program, contracts to the amount of many billions were awarded to plants in established industrial areas. It is estimated that 85 percent of direct contracts went to 12 states containing 48 percent of the population. Because of the importance of the

contracts affecting manufacturing in the heavy goods industries, economic revival has been most marked in thickly populated urban areas, which have long been centers of capital goods production. In addition, shipbuilding and aircraft contracts have, for the most part, been awarded to urban industrial centers along the seacoasts.

Because the impact of these early contracts has recently begun to strain the facilities and labor resources in areas of industrial concentration, attempts are now being made to locate new plants in areas where reserves of labor have been largely untapped. For example, the first orders for aircraft went to the established California companies; the new plants, authorized more recently, have been located in Mississippi Valley cities close to predominantly agricultural areas. Similarly, while contracts for naval expansion were awarded to shipbuilding centers like Boston, Newport News, and Seattle, attempts have been made to locate some of the shipyards for the merchant shipbuilding program in the relatively unexploited ports of the Gulf.

In addition to the important expansion of industry in already well developed cities the National Defense Program has led to large scale construction in rural areas. The building of army cantonments has been concentrated in the rural sections of the southern States with many important projects scattered in the middle and far West. Powder and shell loading plants are being built in small towns and rural areas remote from the centers of industry.

The depression left most urban communities well stocked with a diversified labor supply. It was only in certain of the aircraft centers and in the rural communities at the site of construction projects that migration of labor was needed in order to supply essential workers. Never-

theless, the opening up of economic opportunities has led to migration far beyond the requirements of industry, and has brought hundreds of thousands of workers to most of the important centers of defense activity. Large numbers of the unemployed have been eager to flock to places where wages were rumored to be high and jobs abundant. The House Committee on the Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens has estimated that migration in connection with the defense program has developed in significant proportions during the last few months, and that in general the destinations of this migration are the industrial areas which received the influxes of workers during the World War, and in which important contracts have now been awarded.

The level of wages, as well as the volume of employment, plays an important part in determining the areas which are to be the focal points of migration. Practically all States have reported to the Bureau of Employment Security a large scale movement of workers from lower to higher wage areas. Workers are attracted from agricultural to industrial employment; workers in small communities migrate to larger communities where wages are higher; workers from low wage States are attracted to States where increased production provides an opportunity to obtain a "better" job.

In general, migrant workers at the present time fall into two major categories. In the first place, there are those who migrate in response to definitely assured job opportunities. Skilled workers in the machine industries and metal trades have been recruited by employers over wide areas, and skilled, semiskilled, or unskilled construction workers have frequently come great distances to work on vast defense construction projects. The second and probably the larger group of migrants con-

sists of those workers attracted by the hope but no definite prospect of employment, who move in a haphazard and unorganized way. This group consists chiefly of semiskilled or unskilled laborers and includes a large number of agricultural workers seeking industrial employment and young people without experience of any kind.

Labor market reports and the related material received by the Bureau of Employment Security from State employment security agencies from September 1940 through March 1941 give detailed information about these two types of migration and the geographic areas most affected.

Construction workers form a majority of the skilled workers involved in recent mass migration movements. There has been an out-migration of construction workers from heavily populated industrial areas to rural construction projects. New York State estimates a migration of 22,000 such workers to Army construction projects in recent months. The South Atlantic States appear to have been more affected than any other region by the influx of construction workers. There have also been significant mass migrations to other construction projects in the Middle West and Pacific Coast areas, and some migration of carpenters and other construction workers to coastal shipbuilding centers. Many construction workers migrate from one project to another, setting up only temporary residence at the various points. They appear to be a highly mobile group and move over an extensive territory. Maryland reports an influx of about 5,000 construction workers as a result of construction projects in that area. Five thousand skilled construction workers are said to have migrated from West Virginia to the site of a huge explosives plant at Radford, Virginia. California estimates that thousands of construction workers have

come from the southwestern region and from construction projects in other western States to Army projects in California. Several States report that a majority of the construction workers do not bring their families with them and are ready to pull up stakes and leave town immediately after the completion of the work.

Skilled workers in non-construction trades, for example, machinists, metal workers, and aircraft workers, have been drawn to centers with expanding demand for highly equipped technicians. California reports that skilled workers from the eastern seaboard and Detroit areas have been recruited for work in Pacific Coast aircraft factories and other defense industries. In addition, thousands of semiskilled workers and graduates of national defense vocational training courses have migrated to California and have obtained employment in large numbers. Eighty thousand workers are estimated to have entered California since August 1940, most of them in skilled or semiskilled occupations. Skilled and semiskilled workers have also been migrating to such centers as Detroit, Louisville, and the industrial cities of Connecticut.

In many States, centers of defense activity have attracted agricultural workers from the surrounding rural areas. Unskilled laborers have been employed in great numbers on construction projects in rural areas as "hammer and saw men," supplementing the skilled labor imported from outside the area. In New England and the southern States, many agricultural workers have recently secured employment in factory towns.

However, a very considerable number of migrants from rural or depressed areas have failed to find work in defense industries and in many cases have become stranded without resources. Ohio reports that in January 1941 over 7,000 unskilled workers

migrated from nearby Kentucky and Tennessee to sites of major defense projects and large industries, and that many of these migrants have remained unemployed. Connecticut reports that migratory laborers are coming into the State "to a large and alarming extent," and that the great majority of these workers "do not have much to offer in the way of skill." In California only a fraction of the thousands of agricultural workers who have moved toward areas of defense production have found work. Large influxes of unskilled rural workers in excess of those needed for construction work have been observed in such areas as Camp Blanding, Florida; Fort Bragg, North Carolina; Fort Meade, Maryland; Camp Beauregard, Louisiana; Fort Jackson, South Carolina; and Fort Ethan Allen, Vermont. The Work Projects Administration reports substantial defense migration from at least 13 States in which the primary industry is agriculture.

Another indication of the widespread trend of rural to urban migration is the concern expressed by many States in recent months over actual or prospective shortages of farm workers.

Geographically, migration has affected certain areas of the country more than others. As indicated above there has been a mass of migration of urban construction workers to projects in the South Atlantic States and the less pronounced flow of unskilled workers from the south to industrial areas in the border States. From the mountain States and the drought areas, which in general have been little affected by defense reemployment, there has been a steady out-flow of skilled and newly trained workers to the Pacific Coast and to special defense projects throughout the West. Massachusetts and Connecticut have drawn many migrants from the New England and North Atlantic States. Some of the eastern industrial areas, notably



Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey, though reporting some interchange of skilled workers with other areas, appear to have been relatively little affected by mass migration movements. The north central and middle western industrial areas, on the other hand, have reported a considerable inflow of skilled, semiskilled, and unskilled workers.

It can accurately be said that with few exceptions the defense program has up to now created few problems of labor supply that could not be solved by intelligent use of local labor without migration. This could have been achieved by training and by systematic processes of breaking down complex jobs into simple ones, grading up experienced workmen to higher skills, and using to best advantage the training and experience of skilled craftsmen. The exceptions to this generalization have occurred principally where it has been necessary to import into a predominantly non-industrial community relatively small numbers of specialized skilled workmen as a nucleus to permit the use of much greater numbers of semiskilled and unskilled workers. The establishment of a shipyard, an explosives plant, or an aircraft factory in an area where none of the needed skills are found can often be accomplished only in this way.

From information available to the Bureau of Employment Security it is becoming evident that we are approaching a new phase in the defense program, in which labor shortages may seriously handicap production unless our labor supply is effectively mobilized—literally, made mobile, both geographically and occupationally. The Bureau of Employment Security receives monthly from each of its 1,500 affiliated public employment offices a report of the number of qualified registrants available in some 400 occupations important to the defense program. Paralleling

these are reports from the local employment offices recording the anticipated labor requirements of approximately 11,000 employers in defense industries, together with non-statistical reports on the changing conditions in the labor market. In addition, the Bureau has for its own use and at the request of the OPM undertaken special surveys of selected local labor markets for the purpose of forecasting a year in advance the labor demand, the available supply, and the expected shortages. During the fall of 1940, these reports, in combination, consistently pointed to the emergence of labor shortages in relatively few highly specialized, highly skilled occupations (principally in machine shops, shipyards, and aircraft factories) in the midst of abundant supplies of unspecialized, untrained labor. Even where shortages were clearly in evidence, they were not, and, up to the present time, have not been sufficient to dissolve the aversions of most employers to the use of skilled Negro and alien workers, although the common depression restrictions on age have largely disappeared. Thus even in the occupations and industries in which the demand presses most heavily on the supply, the shortages must be considered limited, or relative, rather than absolute. In all cases these shortages have been specific to certain occupations, rather than general.

The most recent reports to the Bureau, however, have indicated that in some communities general labor shortages may appear before the end of this year. In Detroit, for example, nearly 150,000 additional workers will be absorbed into employment during 1941. It is estimated that half of these will have to be imported from outside of the commuting area. Similarly, in Philadelphia the additional employment of nearly 170,000 persons will require the importation of 70,000. In the aggregate, 68 labor market areas in which special

labor surveys have been conducted with a total population of nearly 17,000,000 will absorb just over a million persons in employment during this year, and of these about 350,000 will have to be imported.

Since these estimates exclude construction workers and are for production, skilled and semiskilled workers who will be offered jobs of a "permanent" nature (at least as long as the defense program continues), it may be conservatively estimated that at least half of the migrants will bring their families with them to the job. Estimating, again conservatively, that each of these married migrants bringing a family has an average of one and one-half dependents, a minimum of 612,500 persons will be migrating in 1941 as a result of the increased defense employment in these areas. These figures include only the *necessary* migration for defense employment in the 68 areas studied, and take no account of the large volume of service workers who may be needed as the result of population expansion in small communities, or of the mass of migrants who may be attracted to defense areas by rumors of employment or uncontrolled advertising.

The circumstances that give rise to this need for migration provide an interesting illustration of the relationship between migration and other types of mobility. In almost all cases it has been found that large numbers of workers already resident in these communities will be trained during the year to meet the local labor requirements. On the other hand, it has generally been found that 50 to 60 percent of the total supply of available labor in these communities cannot be counted on to meet the prospective needs, either because they are physically or otherwise unsuited to perform the work in the occupations in which the demand exists or because they are barred from employment by the hiring preferences of employers. That is to say,

it is found with few exceptions that where occupational mobility in the form of training can be provided, the local labor can be used; but where employers' restrictions bar the use of women, Negroes, workers above or below certain ages, or workers of certain nationalities, it is the character of the demand, not of the supply, that will have to be adjusted in order to make efficient use of locally available labor.

The Bureau's reports constantly emphasize the futility of attempts to import skilled labor. Except where a new plant is being established and must provide itself with at least a nucleus of skilled workmen before it can operate, employers are generally becoming reconciled to the Nationwide shortages of certain types of skilled labor and are taking effective measures to grade up and diffuse the skills already available in their plants. The workers needed to be imported into most of these communities are, for the most part, semi-skilled and unskilled. A notable exception, of course, is again found in the case of construction workers. In most of the skilled building trades occupations and in most parts of the country, there still seem to be ample supplies of such workers available for movement to the site of some project where they may be temporarily needed.

The mobilization of our labor resources, whether by training or by migration, obviously requires a high degree of coordination of training and placement machinery with the visible labor needs of each community. Under the terms of an agreement recently arrived at between the Bureau of Employment Security and the United States Office of Education on behalf of the vocational education authorities, training classes are being organized to meet specific labor requirements in each of hundreds of communities. In all cases an attempt is made to adapt through training the local

labor supply as far as possible, especially in those occupations which require relatively little skill and for which training can be given relatively quickly. At the same time the employment service, through its machinery for transferring workers from areas of surplus to areas of shortage, is attempting to move needed workers directly in response to job openings and to discourage migration to areas in which local reserves of labor are adequate.

### III

From all of this there is beginning to emerge the outlines of a policy toward migration as an aspect of the defense program. There is a determination on the part of those responsible for planning various aspects of defense production to avoid as far as possible the mistakes made during the World War period, which survived to plague us long after the conflict. Although, in order to speed the present program, it was necessary to concentrate the early contracts very largely in great industrial cities where there were idle plant facilities and plentiful supplies of labor, there is now a determined effort to carry the jobs to areas relatively unexploited where labor is still available in order to avoid attracting to already overcrowded cities large numbers of people who will be left stranded when the emergency is past.

Similarly, in laying plans for the defense housing program, attention has been given to the likely amount and kind of in-migration of workers for defense industries and to adapt the housing to suit their needs.

Underlying all of these efforts is the concept of migration as a means of adjusting labor supply to the needs of the defense program. As the policy is formulated it is clear that migration as a form of mobility should be encouraged only after all

practicable means of adapting resident labor have been exhausted. This is not to say that the patterns of distribution should be frozen in their present form; it is to say, however, that migration should be directed as far as possible to achieve an optimum distribution in the light of economic resources and opportunities.

For the first time there exists in this country a mechanism which, if properly used, can achieve this result. Historically it has been one of the functions of a network of labor exchanges to encourage migration when and where it was needed and to prevent useless, aimless, wasteful wanderings of people in search of work. Indeed, this has been one of the reasons for the existence of labor exchanges. The employment service in the United States has only just made a beginning in this direction. Up to now the influence of the employment service in guiding migration has been relatively slight because the employment offices had at their disposal only a fraction of the job opportunities available. Where migration was necessary (and even in many cases where it was not) employers have found ways of stimulating it without reckoning the social and economic consequences. Where migration was not necessary, the employment service has been unable to stem it in the face of rumors or reports which the more ambitious and the more desperate workers felt compelled to follow themselves. This is, unhappily, hardly less true today than it was two or three years. And yet, there are signs that after many false starts some progress is beginning to be made. There is definite evidence that in certain agricultural areas the employment service has operated to guide the migration of agricultural workers to the points where they were needed. There is some evidence, too, that on some of the large construction projects, the migration was directed or at



least the over-migration reduced by the intervention of the employment service. And more recently the service has undertaken to work out with employers means of recruiting in distant places that will result in the movement only of such workers as can find employment.

If the demand on our labor resources

approaches the magnitude that some predict, there will be many problems encountered in mobilizing our available supplies of labor to man all essential defense activities. This will mean not only training millions of workers, but also organizing the labor market on a scale hitherto unknown in this country.

## SOME ASPECTS OF VILLAGE DEMOGRAPHY\*

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THIS discussion is a report of my efforts to determine some of the more important distinguishing features of village populations. Probably as many as fifteen million persons (and possibly more) live in "Main Street" if this name be used to designate all centers of population having less than 2,500 inhabitants. This total in itself is important. It is several times that of even our largest city, nearly one-half the entire rural-farm population. Furthermore, this village population is distributed throughout the entire width and breadth of the land; it forms part of every industrial, commercial, and agricultural pattern; and it is composed of persons subject to the conditioning influences of every variety of our very heterogeneous natural and cultural environments. Probably the villages already constitute the most rapidly growing part of the nation; with the war-inspired need for decentralization of industry and the steady relative increase of old persons in the population, villages should continue to wax in numbers and importance. It would seem very obvious that it is impor-

tant to know the make-up, structure, and functions of the nation's village population and to understand the role it plays in the nation's demographic constitution and processes. Yet very few, even among population experts, are able to tell us very much about the essential, distinguishing characteristics of village populations.

It is no easy task to determine even the most elementary features of village population structure and vital processes. Our indispensable source of population data has never attempted to report even the most essential data for the villages of the nation. Prior to 1930, census practice was to dichotomize the population into rural and urban, drawing the line between the two at 2,500 inhabitants.<sup>1</sup> Tabulations of census materials were then made for the rural and urban portions of the population, with the urban population materials further subdivided according to the size of the city. For many years there was no further break down of the rural population data. Finally, following the Census of 1920 Galpin obtained permission to make several counts of the farm population in selected counties. The resulting publica-

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<sup>1</sup> Before 1880 the division mark was 8,000 persons.

tion proved so useful that in 1930 the census finally gave in and adopted the practice of classifying the population into rural-farm (those persons living on tracts of land that were designated as farms) and rural-nonfarm (persons living outside the incorporated limits of centers of 2,500 or more but not residing on farms). For some time it was asserted that rural-nonfarm and village populations were synonymous. The census even used table headings indicating that this was the case. However, it is now known that the so-called rural-nonfarm population includes everything from the village population proper to the unincorporated residential suburbs of our large cities, and the night-club, tourist-camp fringes of our small cities and towns. In no sense of the word may this rural-nonfarm population be identified with the village population.<sup>2</sup>

If it is unsafe to consider the rural non-farm population and the village population as synonymous, and such procedure is very erroneous, then data concerning village populations are almost entirely lacking. Those that are available may be enumerated briefly. In the reports of the number and distribution of the inhabitants are listed the names and locations (in county and minor civil divisions) of all incorporated villages in the United States, together with the number of inhabitants in each. In 1930 there were 13,433 of these incorporated villages, having a total of 9,183,453 inhabitants. For unincorporated centers of population with less than 2,500 inhabitants there is absolutely no available census information, neither a count of the number of such places nor of the population resident in them. In addition to the list of all incorporated centers only one other tabulation gives village

data; this is Table 22 in the state tables and is confined to villages 1,000 to 2,499 inhabitants. For this selected group only the following data are tabulated: (1) the number in the population; (2) the number of males and the number of females; (3) the number of whites and the number of Negroes; (4) the number of native whites and foreign-born whites, with the former subdivided into those of native parentage and those of foreign or mixed parentage; (5) an age distribution, using five-, ten-, and twenty-year intervals, and this only for the total population with no break down with respect to sex, to race, or to nativity; and (6) the number of rural-farm persons in the village. Such is the material available for the village population of the United States.

Obviously it would be asking too much to ask for a detailed break down of the data for each village.<sup>3</sup> However, it is not unreasonable to ask for the data on all the villages in the state taken collectively to be tabulated in full detail and the results printed in the summary reports of the Bureau of the Census.

In addition to the census data useful information on a small sample of 155 villages for 1920 will be found in the special tabulations of 1920 census data prepared by the Institute of Social and Religious Research.<sup>4</sup>

#### AGE

Of the bio-social factors, age is probably the most important and of the most conse-

<sup>3</sup> Even in this case, however, a federal-state relationship should be perfected that would provide for copies of the census schedules to be retained in the state where they could be used in a legitimate manner by interested persons.

<sup>4</sup> See C. Luther Fry, *American Villages* (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1926); and C. Luther Fry, *A Census Analysis of American Villages* (New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1925).

<sup>2</sup> See the discussion and data in my *Sociology of Rural Life* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1940), pp. 44-48.

quence. Man's three-score and ten years completes the cycle from complete dependency to complete dependency, with the intermediate years representing all shades between self-support and dependency. Accordingly, for any population it is highly important to know with a high degree of precision just what are the distinguishing features of its age structure. This is the first problem attended to in this discussion.

In the analysis of age profiles demographers have long relied upon the familiar age and sex pyramid, or as some call it the "tree of ages." There can be no doubt of the usefulness of the age and sex pyramid as a device both for discovering and portraying differences in the age and sex profiles of various populations. However, for many purposes this pyramid is not a sufficiently refined research tool to reveal all of the significant variations in the age make-up of various populations. Thus, for example, some of the essential and distinctive features of the rural population, and how these contrast with those of an urban population, have long been known. But although separate tabulations of the rural-farm and rural-nonfarm populations have been available in the United States for more than 20 years, the use of the age and sex pyramid for analytical purposes has not brought to the attention of investigators important differences between them. In a like manner probably many other important and significant differences are not brought out when in comparisons of one population with another sole reliance is placed upon the age and sex pyramid.

The reasons for this state of affairs are not hard to find. Largely responsible is the fact that the percentage of the population falling in any one age group further subdivided by sex is comparatively small. This is the case even when the age group

is based on a five-year interval. When differences in percentages represent only a few points or even a fraction of a point they tend to be dismissed as being of little or no consequence. For example, on the age and sex pyramids of the rural-farm and rural-nonfarm populations of the United States in 1930 the age group 65-69, inclusive, constituted 1.5 and 1.9 per cent, respectively, of the populations. (For purposes of analysis the further division according to sex is omitted, since these data are not to be had for villages.) Neither the average reader nor the average researcher is likely to attach much significance to such a "minor" variation. On the age and sex pyramid it is hardly distinguishable. In most cases it tends to be passed over as a difference of less than one percent. In reality, however, these data show not that persons aged 65-69, inclusive, were only four-tenths of one percent more numerous in rural-nonfarm than in rural-farm areas, but that persons of these ages were 26.7 percent more numerous in the rural-nonfarm population. Furthermore, these percentages are based on very large numbers—the rural-farm population totaling over 30 million and the rural-nonfarm population nearly 24 million persons. In populations of this size there is not the slightest possibility that differences of above given magnitude could have arisen in a purely chance manner; from a statistical standpoint they are highly significant.

In order to overcome such difficulties and to reveal in bold outlines the essential features of various populations, the writer has found useful another type of chart—one based upon index numbers. The construction of such a diagram is relatively simple and may be described, using data from the Census of 1930. In line with the preceding discussion, suppose it is desired to determine the significant differences in



the age composition between our largest city, the urban, the rural-farm, and the rural-nonfarm populations. In 1930 in the United States as a whole 9.3 percent of the male population was under five years of age. In the New York City, the urban, the rural-farm, and the rural-nonfarm populations the corresponding percentages were 7.8, 8.4, 10.7, and 10.4, respectively. Taking the percentage in

tion, the index in each case would have been equal to 100. Thus the relative number 90.3 indicates a marked deficiency of young children in urban areas. Likewise the index number of 115.1 indicates a high proportion of children in the rural-farm population. In a similar manner are calculated and interpreted the index numbers representing the relative importance of the other age groups in the New York

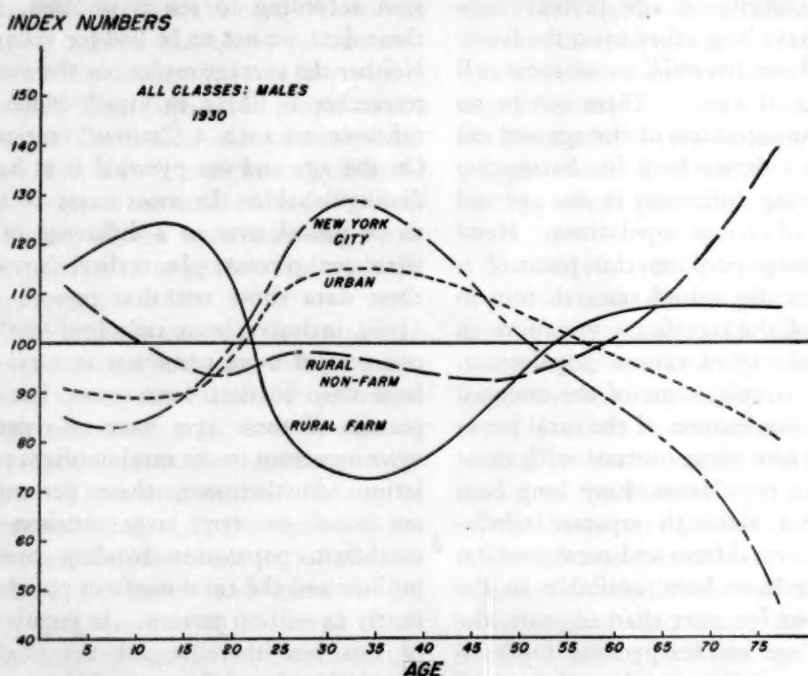


FIG. 1. INDEX NUMBERS SHOWING THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF EACH AGE GROUP IN THE MALE POPULATION OF NEW YORK CITY AND IN THE URBAN, RURAL-FARM, AND RURAL-NONFARM POPULATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES, 1930

the total population as a norm, or 100, the corresponding index number for the age group 0-4 in the population of New York City is equal to 83.9, that for the urban population is equal to 90.3, that for the rural-farm population to 115.1, and that for the rural-nonfarm population to 111.8. If children under five had made up as large a proportion of the urban population as they did of the total popula-

City, the urban, the rural-farm and the rural-nonfarm populations; in all cases the percentage of the nation's total population in the given age group is taken as the base or 100.

The charting of the data, as in Figures 1 and 2, is according to strictly conventional patterns. Age grades are represented on the horizontal scale, and variations in the index numbers on the vertical scale. The

situation in the nation's population is of course described by a straight line running across the chart at a height corresponding to the index number of 100. For each of the segments being analyzed, for example the urban population, the index numbers are plotted to represent the proper magnitude directly above the midpoints of the respective age groupings. By connecting all of the points and applying accepted methods of smoothing, the resulting curve shows the relative importance of persons

of children and of old persons and the heaping up of persons at the productive ages in the city; and the great concentration of aged persons in the rural-nonfarm population. New York City, added to show the extreme case of urbanization, conforms to the general urban age pattern, except that the distinguishing features are greatly accentuated. Since in the construction of these curves very large numbers are being dealt with, the errors of sampling are insignificant. Care should

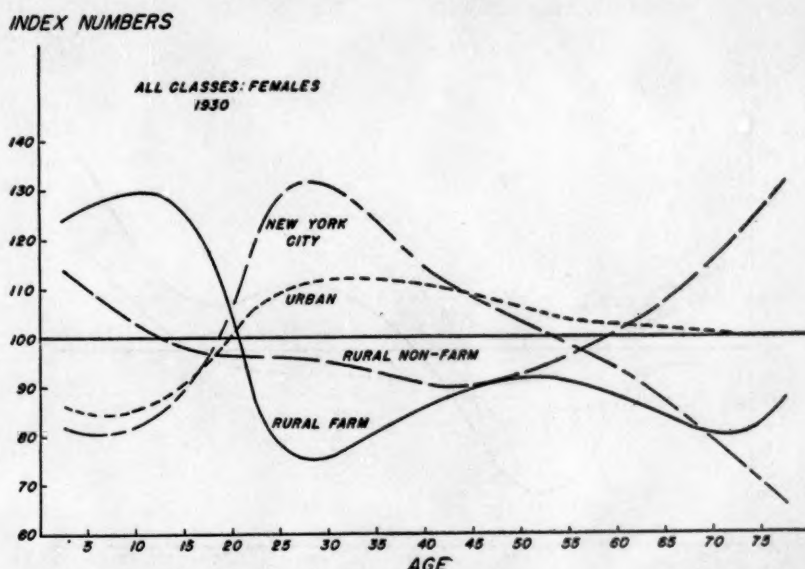


FIG. 2. INDEX NUMBERS SHOWING THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF EACH AGE GROUP IN THE FEMALE POPULATION OF NEW YORK CITY AND IN THE URBAN, RURAL-FARM, AND RURAL-NONFARM POPULATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES, 1930

of any given age in any segment of the population in comparison with the situation in the total population. In a similar manner can be constructed the curves for New York City, the rural-farm, and the rural-nonfarm populations. Such a chart makes readily apparent the distinctive features of the age distribution of each of the segments of the total population. Most noticeable of all is the concentration of children and the scarcity of working-aged persons on the farm; the scarcity

be used, however, in applying this technique where the populations are small.

For our present purposes we are primarily interested in the situation among villagers. Observation of the data indicates that the departures of the village population from the norm are of more than usual interest and importance. First consider how the village population compares with that of the nation as a whole. (See Figure 3.) It will be readily observed that the village population, relative to its

numbers, is characterized by a slight deficiency of persons under 10 years of age. This deficiency becomes very marked between the ages of 10 and 35, the most pronounced stage coming at age 20 where the relative importance of the village age group is only 70 as compared with a national rating of 100. After the age 35 has been passed, however, the village population contains much larger proportions at every age period than the national population. The magnitude of this excess increases steadily with advancing age until

village population characteristics it is also useful to compare the age structure of the village population with that of the other principal population residential categories, the rural-nonfarm, the rural-farm, and the urban classes. (1) In age composition the village population closely resembles the rural-nonfarm group of which it constitutes one of the more important elements. The major difference is that the distinctive features of the rural-nonfarm population are accentuated in the village population. Thus the

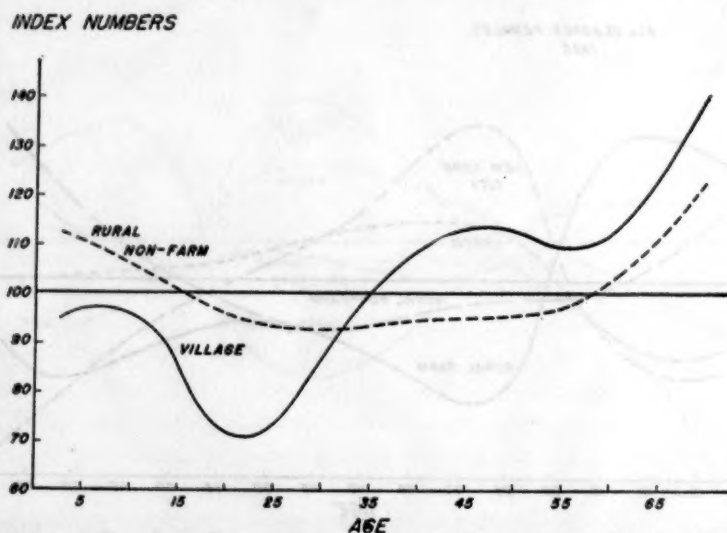


FIG. 3. INDEX NUMBERS SHOWING THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF EACH AGE GROUP IN THE RURAL-NONFARM AND VILLAGE POPULATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES, 1930

in the class above 75 years of age the relative importance of oldsters in the village population is nearly one and one-half times that in the national population taken as a whole. These results may be generalized as follows: village populations are characterized by a slight deficiency of persons in early childhood, a very marked deficiency of persons in the early working and productive years of life, and a great excess of persons in the older dependent ages.

For purposes of emphasizing these

scarcity of children is more marked in the village than in the rural-nonfarm population, the deficiency of working aged persons is greater, and the concentration of persons of advanced ages is even higher. The village is in a class by itself when it comes to a concentration of oldsters in the population. (2) The village population differs significantly from the rural-farm population. The proportion of children in the village fails to attain the high level of the farms, while the proportion of old persons greatly



excels even the high ratios of the rural-farm population. In the proportions of persons in the working or productive ages, there is no very pronounced difference between the villagers and the farmers.

(3) The village population is likewise vastly different from the urban population. The village lacks children, but the scarcity is not so pronounced as it is in the city. Nevertheless, in this respect the rural village is much more similar to the city than it is to the farm population. In the pronounced scarcity of working aged persons the villages are vastly different from the urban areas and rank alongside the farms. In the importance of persons of advanced age the city ranks far below both the farm and the rural-nonfarm, with the village population containing the very highest proportions of all.

The manner in which the age pattern of the village populations varies within the various states is also interesting. Using the population of the United States as a norm, this aspect of the subject has also been explored in a preliminary manner. With a few variations of minor significance it may be said that the general pattern of village age structure found for the nation as a whole prevails in 29 of the states, namely: California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Vermont, Washington, and Wisconsin. The states conforming more closely to type are those of the Midwest such as Iowa, Illinois, and Indiana. In three western states (California, Nevada, and Washington) and in New Jersey, the concentration in villages begins at an earlier age than elsewhere. North Dakota and Pennsylvania village

populations have more young children than is customary; Louisiana villages have a marked concentration at about age 20; and there are a few other minor variations. But in general the states in this group conform closely to the national pattern.

In another considerable group of 16 states (Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Kentucky, New Mexico, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Virginia, and West Virginia), the age distributions of the villagers bears a rather close resemblance to that of the rural-farm population. In Mississippi and Wyoming the village distribution is rather like the typical urban pattern. Montana villages have an age distribution all of their own, having high proportions of young children, a marked deficiency of those between 15 and 35, an excess of persons age 35 to 60, and a scarcity of persons above 60.

The factors accounting for these variations cannot all be identified as yet. However, some of the following may be of importance: (1) recency of settlement, as in Montana; (2) the prevalence of large-scale, intensive agricultural operations, farm enterprises that employ a large number of seasonal agricultural workers, as in California, New Jersey, and Washington; (3) the scarcity of large centers of population, with villages playing the role of centers of commerce, as in Mississippi and Wyoming; and (4) the prevalence of the village pattern of settlement, resulting in the close identification of the village and the agricultural populations, as in Arizona, Idaho, New Mexico, and Utah.

#### SEX

The proportions of the sexes is the second of the highly significant features of population structure to receive analysis.

The balance or imbalance between the sexes is of utmost importance, since it has a direct bearing on the marital status, the death rate, the birth rate, and almost every other indicator of social well-being.

In 1930 the sex ratio in the 3,091 incorporated villages having populations between 1,000 and 2,500 stood at 97.8 males per 100 females. This is much below the corresponding ratio in the population of the United States which was 102.5. It is also below those in the urban, the rural-farm, and the rural-nonfarm portions of the national population which were 98.1, 111.0, and 105.0, respectively. Far from resembling the rural-nonfarm population, the village has a greater femininity than the city. In fact the high proportion of females is one of the most significant distinguishing features of the village population.

In interpreting these differences it should be remembered that the sex ratio in a given territory at any given time is the net result of four factors: (1) the prevailing sex ratio at birth; (2) the age distribution of the population; (3) differential mortality between the sexes; and (4) the sex ratio among migrants. In the United States, as elsewhere, the sex ratio at birth has hovered around 106 for whites and 104 for Negroes, thus being favorable to a high sex ratio. So far in our national history we have also been on the receiving end of a stream of long-distance immigrants, primarily male (the sex ratio among foreign-born in 1930 was 115.1), which has also contributed to excess masculinity for our population. However, at all ages females have lower mortality rates than males, a factor which constantly exercises a depressing effect upon the sex ratio. Because the male sex ratio at birth is high there will be a relatively high male sex ratio among young children. Among these early age

groups there has not been sufficient time for the effects of differential mortality to make themselves evident, and young children are not greatly involved in emigration and immigration. Accordingly, a high proportion of children in a population is reflected in a high male sex ratio, and vice versa. Since the sex ratio at birth and differential mortality are practically constant, the recent fall in the national male sex ratio (from 106.0 in 1910 to 102.5 in 1930) must be accounted for by the factors of migration and age distribution. The shutting off of immigration and the declining relative importance of children in the national population both have operated to bring about this significant change. In interpreting the village sex ratio, we should first attempt to eliminate the influences of age make-up, and account for the residuals in terms of internal migration.

Unfortunately, for the village population there is no cross-tabulation giving the age of the population by sex. For towns of more than 2,500, however, it is possible to determine the sex ratio among the population 21 years of age and over. In an attempt to infer something about villages, the 398 towns of 2,500 to 3,000 were separated from the others and the available data analyzed. For the total population of towns of this size, the sex ratio was very close to that for the villages, 98.0 compared with 97.8; on this score it would seem that the data for these overgrown villages are fairly representative of those for the centers of less than 2,500 inhabitants. For the population 21 years of age and over in the 398 small towns of the nation, the sex ratio was found to be 97.4. This is to be compared with a corresponding ratio of 103.3 among those of corresponding ages in the total population; and ratios of 98.2, 114.7, and 107.9, respectively, in the

urban, the rural-farm, and the rural-non-farm portions of the population. To the extent that we can infer the sex composition of the villages from that of the small towns, these data make it evident that the excessive femininity of the village population is even more pronounced when the comparisons are based on the population over 20 years of age.

Pronounced differences between the states are found in the sex ratios of the village populations. The greatest excess of females in the villages was found in the Old South, a region where the general sex ratio is low, and where the northward migration of workers has left behind in the small centers a large number of females. Lowest of all ranked South Carolina where the village sex ratio was only 89.4, Georgia (89.7), Alabama, North Carolina, and Mississippi. Next to these follow Maine, New York, Vermont, Virginia, and Tennessee in the order named. High village sex ratios, on the other hand, are found for the most part in the more recently settled parts of the nation, i.e., the West. Even in 1930 there were 119.1 males for every 100 females in Nevada villages. California ranked second with a village sex ratio of 109.7, followed by Wyoming (108.4), Montana (107.8), and Idaho (106.9). Then came Arizona, New Mexico, Washington, Utah, and Colorado in the order named.

#### MARITAL STATUS

No census data on marital status are tabulated for centers of population having less than 2,500 inhabitants. However, for towns of 2,500 and over counts are tabulated showing the numbers of single and married persons 15 years of age and over subdivided according to sex. Ignoring the small groups whose marital status is unknown, the subtraction method

makes it possible to determine the number of single, married, and widowed and divorced persons of each sex in the populations of these towns. Lacking any other method of determining the significant features of the marital status of village populations, the available data for those incorporated centers having between 2,500 and 3,000 inhabitants were analyzed.

TABLE I

MARITAL STATUS OF THE POPULATION OF 398 SMALL TOWNS AND OF THE TOTAL, URBAN, RURAL-FARM, AND RURAL-NONFARM POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES, 1930

MARITAL STATUS AND RESIDENCE	PERCENTAGE OF THE POPULATION 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER FALLING IN THE RESPECTIVE CATEGORIES	
	Males	Females
<i>Single</i>		
398 towns.....	30.8	25.5
Total United States.....	34.1	26.4
Urban.....	33.7	27.8
Rural-farm.....	36.5	25.2
Rural-nonfarm.....	32.1	23.0
<i>Married</i>		
398 towns.....	62.8	60.7
Total United States.....	60.0	61.1
Urban.....	60.5	58.5
Rural-farm.....	57.9	66.0
Rural-nonfarm.....	61.1	63.9
<i>Widowed and divorced</i>		
398 towns.....	6.1	13.8
Total United States.....	5.7	12.4
Urban.....	5.6	13.5
Rural-farm.....	5.5	8.8
Rural-nonfarm.....	6.5	12.9

It seems reasonable to assume that incorporated places of this size are not markedly different from at least the larger villages. In any case some features of the marital situation in these small towns is of considerable interest.

In Table I are presented the available data for these small towns along with comparable information for the United



States as a whole. Observation of these materials gives a factual basis for several generalizations. More than either the urban, the rural-farm, or the rural-nonfarm parts of the national population, small towns are characterized by a scarcity of single persons of the male sex. Females who are single, on the other hand, are more numerous in the nation's small towns than in its rural districts, although of less relative importance there than in the cities. Married men constitute a larger share of the towns' male population than they do in the urban, the rural-farm, or the rural-nonfarm populations. Married women, on the other hand, are relatively more frequent in the small towns than in the urban districts, but they do not constitute as large a percentage of the total female population in the towns as they do on the farms and in the rural-nonfarm areas. However, by far the most striking feature relative to the marital status of the small-town population is the concentration in it of widowed and divorced females. Among females 15 years of age and over, one out of seven in the small town is either widowed or divorced, the larger share of them coming in the first category. In this respect the small town greatly outranks the farms of the nation, and it even exceeds the cities where the proportions of widowed and especially divorced are also very high. These data go a long way towards demonstrating that one of the chief functions of the small town and the village is as a resting place for widowed and divorced females from the surrounding farms.

Further light is thrown upon the situation with respect to marital status, and also upon the sex composition, by the determination of the sex ratios among the various marital classes. The available data for the 398 small towns have been assembled and are presented, along with

comparable materials for the United States, in Table II. A study of this information reveals several significant features of the small-town population.

In interpreting these data it is well to consider first a few observations on the over-all data for the nation. Even in 1930 immigration had brought to our shores a sufficiently large surplus of males to bring the sex ratio among the entire population aged 15 years and over up to 102.4. As was to be expected, because of the masculinity of the immigrant streams and in view of the lower age at

TABLE II

SEX RATIOS ACCORDING TO MARITAL STATUS FOR THE POPULATION OF 398 SMALL TOWNS AND FOR THE TOTAL, URBAN, RURAL-FARM, AND RURAL-NONFARM POPULATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES, 1930

RESIDENTIAL CATEGORY	SEX RATIOS AMONG THOSE AGED 15 YEARS AND OVER			
	Total	Single	Married	Widowed & divorced
398 towns.....	96.3	116.5	99.7	44.4
Total United States..	102.4	132.3	100.6	47.4
Urban.....	97.1	117.6	100.3	40.1
Rural-farm.....	114.8	166.4	100.6	72.1
Rural-nonfarm....	106.1	148.0	101.5	53.5

marriage among females, among single persons those of the male sex greatly preponderated. For married persons, on the other hand, the sexes were very nearly equal, the presence in this country of married men whose wives and children remained in the old country is sufficient to explain most of the slight discrepancy. But in the widowed and divorced group there were more than two women for every man.

Next let us contrast the situation in the small towns with that in the other residential categories. Among all persons of 15 years of age and over it will be observed

that the small towns have an exceedingly low sex ratio, one that is far below those of the rural-farm and rural-nonfarm areas, and even lower than that of the urban portions of the nation. Among single persons there is a closer balance between the sexes in the small towns than is true elsewhere; here again the situation in these small centers is in sharp contrast with that in the rural areas, and in this respect they even rank below the cities. The sex ratio among married persons does not depart far from 100. However, in view of the concentration of widowed and divorced females in these small towns, it is interesting to observe that these centers also have a slightly greater number of married women than of married men. This condition is the reverse of that found in all the other residential categories. Finally, among the widowed and divorced the towns have a sex ratio that is slightly higher than that of the urban areas but one that is much below those of the rural-farm and the rural-nonfarm areas. This probably reflects a tendency for widowers and divorced males also to concentrate in small towns and villages to spend their declining years.

#### CONCLUSION

Even with the meager data at hand it is possible to determine some of the important distinguishing features of the village population. Revealed in the preceding analysis are some of the essential aspects of age structure, sex composition, and marital condition of American villages.

The more important of these may be summarized as follows. (1) The age pattern of the village population is characterized by a slight deficiency of children, a marked deficiency of persons of early working ages, and a very large excess of aged persons. This marked concentration of aged persons in the village is probably its most important population characteristic. (2) The village population is composed more largely of females than is the rural-farm, the rural-nonfarm, or even the urban population of the United States. This difference is more pronounced if the comparison is based on persons 21 years of age or over. (3) By far the most striking feature of marital condition in the village is the concentration there, or at least in the small towns, of very large numbers of widowed and divorced females, probably from the surrounding farms.

Finally, two more general statements seem justified. The present analysis further indicates the fallacy of considering village and rural-nonfarm as synonymous categories. It also raises grave questions concerning a newer generalization by Kolb and Brunner<sup>5</sup> which holds that village population characteristics are intermediate between those of the city and those of the farms. Instead, the village seems to have its own distinctive population features, some of which set the village apart sharply from all other subdivisions of the population.

<sup>5</sup> John H. Kolb and Edmund deS. Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society* (rev. ed.) (New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1940), p. 83.

## THE PLACE AND IMPORTANCE OF POPULATION STUDIES IN RELATION TO THE NEGRO POPULATION OF THE SOUTH\*

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THE subdivision of population data according to race is regarded as the first step in the study of population. This is more than a statistical convenience. The white and Negro populations, under the circumstances which differentiate them sociologically, respond to social and economic factors in ways that are at times significantly dissimilar. And, although together they may comprise a regional or national population and pattern, the processes which differentiate them, as well as determine the nature of their differential responses, are obscured in the general trends. Moreover, this association and sociological differentiation in themselves are the source of interactions which are important to any understanding of the regional society. This paper proposes briefly to point out areas in the study of population which are vitally affected by Negro population trends in the South.

### ECOLOGICAL FACTORS

An important aspect of population appears in the biotic struggle of two groups to achieve growth and equilibrium in the same area. Fundamentally, this is racial or group competition on an elemental level and reduces itself to an issue of physical and cultural adaptation. Above the biotic level free competition is limited by law and convention. Population planning grows out of the observation that the process is going on and needs to be con-

trolled. Dr. Rupert B. Vance has pointed out how in the struggle for survival the present balance of births and deaths of Negroes is closely tied up with the rural-urban distribution. This in turn is a reflection of the racial competition for land which has resulted in alternate integration and segregation of Negroes on less productive land.<sup>1</sup> Professor S. J. Holmes has called attention to the frequent consequences of populations in contact and competition. In the struggle for survival some weaker groups have been decimated and others have been able to subsist and increase at a rate even more rapid under improved conditions. Inevitably each population influences the other to some degree. He suggests, in the case of American Negroes in the South in particular, that a more rapid population growth might develop as a compensatory response to the slower increase of the white population. Where two races compete for numerical supremacy, the slower growth of one is usually to be counter - balanced by the more rapid growth of the other.<sup>2</sup>

The Negro and the immigrant are, in the present circumstances, natural population competitors. The immigrant numbers in the North have restrained, historically, Negro migration from the

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter on "Racial Competition for the Land," by Rupert B. Vance in *Race Relations and the Race Problem*, Edgar T. Thompson, Ed. (Duke University Press, 1939), p. 97.

<sup>2</sup> S. J. Holmes, "The Increasing Growth Rate of the Negro Population," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLII, No. 2 (September, 1938, p. 210.

\* Read before the Sixth Annual Meeting of the Southern Sociological Society in Atlanta, Georgia, April 5, 1941.



South, and the Negro in the South has, in like manner, blocked any effective immigrant penetration into this area.

To employ one further illustration of the ecological aspects of population distribution, the State of Tennessee might be used. If one studies the population of the State it will be observed that after 1870 the Negro population shifted almost precipitously from the middle section to the west, a fact that relates itself sharply to the competition of the Negro population and the non-slave holding white population of Middle Tennessee. When the political and economic defenses of the institution of slavery were removed the Negro population was steadily forced from the land.<sup>3</sup> This general observation of population competition for land and a source of subsistence may be correlated with mortality trends which are responding blindly to obscure elements of these biotic relations.

#### BIO-SOCIAL FACTORS

It has been noted that these populations, in addition to affecting one another significantly, may respond differently to the same social and economic forces. Urban residence reduces the fertility of Negroes about 10 percent more than that of native whites generally, and in the South the rate is from 20 to 30 percent below that necessary to maintain the population permanently, as compared with 14 percent for whites. Since 1790 the Negro population has increased only about one-half to two-thirds as rapidly as the white population. During slavery the Negro population, according to Dr. Louis I. Dublin, reached the limits of human fertility. But there have been important changes in the bases of life for this population. It is no longer predominantly a

rural population. From a proportion of nearly 90 percent in 1870 it is now less than 50 percent rural. From almost uniformly large families, the average size of the Negro family is less than the native white families in cities. In 1935 the fertility rates for Negro women were lower at all ages, except under 20, and in all areas except the rural farm. The standardized birth rate per 1,000 wives of child-bearing age was, according to the special government survey of 1935, 96 for native whites, 111 for foreign-born whites, and 86 for Negroes.

It is a striking fact that of the 40,000 Negro wives included in the special study there was very little differentiation in fertility between occupational classes, but a smaller ratio of births in all classes. This varies markedly from the general trend in the white population. At present rates of increase, it would require 250 years for the white population to double itself, and 540 years for the Negro population.

There are differentiating factors in fertility. For example, one Milbank Fund study of white and Negro women in Cincinnati and Spartanburg, South Carolina, suggests group differences in fertility due to rates of incidence of individual physiological and pathological factors, and a possible relationship is suggested between fertility and nutrition.

The age composition of the Negro group is significantly different. It is a younger group, probably because of a high adult death rate. But the age of a population has an important bearing upon reproduction rates and the character of the social institutions of an area.

The low Negro sex ratios of the South are important in family organization and development which, in turn, have a bearing upon the reproduction rate. This problem of the racial basis of population

<sup>3</sup> Population Studies. Tennessee State Planning Commission. Section II A.

changes in the South has been stressed by Professor Otis Duncan of the University of Oklahoma. The preponderance of Negro females in the South, under the inevitable hypergency of such population relations, gives rise to speculations regarding the operation of the vital processes generally. Since natural increase is more dependent upon females than upon males, Professor Duncan is led to inquire if compensatory forces of nature are struggling to offset the high mortality of the Negro population, and if this excessive femininity may be in any way related, now or subsequently, to the sociologically significant phenomenon of miscegenation.

The factor of selective migration has an important bearing upon the study of these two populations. In this sphere there has been much speculation, but little direct evidence of a conclusive character. Some major studies of population suggest that in respect to physical fitness urban migrants have the advantage; and Dr. Leon Truesdell of the Bureau of the Census has advanced the possibility that the best and worst types are selected by the city, leaving the mean to the rural areas. Whatever the factors in physical and social selection of urban populations, it is highly probable that the white and Negro populations, even when they reflect the same general trends, are responding to different stresses of both the rural and urban environment. The racial restrictions placed upon the ownership of land in the more productive rural areas, and the characteristic orientation of successful Negro rural school graduates toward the wider urban occupational ranges, to mention only two factors, suggest a type of selective influence which would be expected to be reflected in the character of Negro populations migrating. Our

studies of rural Negro youth<sup>4</sup> indicate that the urge to migrate, not only cityward but northward, is related to inadequate emotional adjustment to the racial mores, and to maladjustment based upon economic insecurity, which is itself partly a function of racial status. Whether or not the quality of population is thus affected is no less important than the possibility that the emotional and economic adjustments achieved in the rural setting are in the direction of a stable or even stagnant peasantry.

#### SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC FACTORS

Perhaps the most important and far-reaching population problems fall under the socio-economic classification, and emphasize the need for studies of the Negro. General population studies indicate rather generally that fertility declines rapidly as the level of living rises. According to recent authoritative studies of regional populations, fertility in the poorest areas is 77 percent in excess of the figure necessary for permanent replacement, and in the areas of highest level of living 17 percent below. The Negro reproduction rates, however, are less than the white in both rural and urban areas, not because they have higher but because they have lower living levels. In relief populations the fertility rates are about the same for both populations.<sup>5</sup>

Occupational classifications of the population are regarded generally as an index to fertility rates and to the quality and stability of populations. In the Southeast, 70 percent, and in the Southwest 73 percent of Negro males are laborers and service workers as compared with 19.2

<sup>4</sup> See *Growing Up in the Black Belt*, by Charles S. Johnson (Washington, D. C.: American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education, 1941).

<sup>5</sup> *Rural Families on Relief* by Carl C. Zimmerman and Nathan L. Whitten. Research Monograph XVII, WPA.

and 20.0 percent of the white male workers respectively.<sup>6</sup>

Population pressure, as Woofter notes, is basic in determining wage differentials. These strike the Negro population with particular force, because the differentials are greatest for unskilled and least for skilled work. The differentials for unskilled work are as much, at times, as 80 percent, and for skilled work about 20 percent. Seventy-five percent of the surplus Negro workers are classified as unskilled.

New problems bearing upon population are revealed with social changes in the population. The factor of education, and the breaking down of cultural isolation not only through education but through good roads, and the extension of communication through new technical devices, are having a marked effect upon the Negro population. The rate of introduction of methods of birth control, the changing values within the Negro group regarding illegitimacy, separation, and desertion, are at base aspects of acculturation affecting the Negro population qualitatively as well as quantitatively. These factors are reflected objectively in family size and stability, and ultimately in the long-time population trends. Closely related to these factors is the process of class differentiation observable within the Negro group, which is of vital importance to any understanding of Negro group behavior, population quality, mobility, and rates of increase. The Negro family, as an institution, is in process of organization, and this in turn is associated with standards assimilating it to the norms of the larger society.

<sup>6</sup> *The Problems of a Changing Population*, report of the Committee on Population Problems to the National Resources Committee, May, 1938 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1938), pp. 75-76.

A further aspect of population studies with implications for the Negro population is in the proportions of aged and handicapped, and in the relief pressures and trends which, under present Federal legislation, require a base in population studies. Attention need only be called to the fact that in 1930 at least 13 percent of the white population was 65 or more years old, while only 3 percent of the Negro population was in this upper bracket. Problems of relief and unemployment are involved in the displacement of the Negro population where consideration is given to the limitations on industrial skills.

Population studies and the projection of population trends cannot divorce themselves from basic economic realities and contingencies which are, in our southern economy, influenced by the historical racial division of the population. Cotton cultivation, for example, which supports in a measure a caste division of the Southern society, is contingent upon the fate of world markets, the rate of introduction of mechanization into agriculture, and the preservation of the productivity of the soil. Population pressures may result from any of these contingencies, threatening the release from the soil of vast numbers in dangerously unbalanced proportions. Similarly, the population absorption rates in cities are limited by the rate of introduction of industries into the region, and, in a complex manner, by the differential racial rate of absorption into these industries.

New occupations are demanding increased education and these occupations yield advantages to youth with superior education and least advantage to Negroes handicapped by their status and race in the South. Population planning, thus, finds itself involved in the question of equalization of educational facilities by



region and race with perhaps Federal aid. For the wealth of the South is constantly being drawn off by stronger financial agencies of the North and East, as is evident in the striking differences observable in the per capita income and wealth of the South in relation to its resources, as compared with the North and East.

#### POPULATION STUDIES AND PROGRAMS

Now that the population problem has become urgent, remedies are sought in newer studies. Sweden faced this problem earlier and enacted legislation designed to provide correction of the most serious tendencies. Faced with the danger of population decline, it has enacted legislation designed to encourage increases in families economically capable, and provisions to insure the economic stability of fertile families. At the same time it has relaxed regulations against birth control. In France there are provisions for family allowances to offset the more serious effects of normal policy.

In this country, and in the South in particular, the corrective procedures advocated have been: (a) increased industrial development to absorb the surplus population; (b) increased subsistence agriculture; (c) birth control, and (d) population redistribution. All of these proposals have racial implications deeply set in the mores of the region.

There is a considerable question as to what the optimum, or best balanced, population is. There is no indication in any studies to date as to what the best bi-racial balance of a population is, or should be. The problems are serious enough for a single, homogeneous population. It is not yet certain whether the population maladjustment in the South is the result of too many people, or of inadequate development of resources. However, the attention of the area is now seri-

ously directed toward drawing into it more industries. The desperateness of the need for industries has not infrequently led to excesses which in the end will probably do labor itself more harm than good.

The prospect for employment has been the subject of intense study over the past five years. With the best of prospects, however, it is yet impossible to see how agriculture can do more than absorb about a fifth of its excess of births over deaths.

The second corrective of subsistence agriculture is suggested in the need for more actual food products in the South. Increased food consumption may have the effect of improving fertility, or it may raise the living level thus, by statistical implication at least, decreasing the actual reproduction rate.

Birth control as a measure of population regulation is yet theoretically a possibility, but does not have popular support. With the increase of literacy and sophistication it is observed to be having effect in the cities. The differential birth rate by occupation and education suggests its operation, but the fact remains that the greatest birth rates are still in the most numerous occupational and educational brackets, which are at the same time the lowest. The Negro rate of adoption of the practice, apart from free clinics, will be largely contingent upon the increase in education and living standards.

General population redistribution finds, perhaps, its best proposal in the one made by Dr. O. E. Baker, who looks to the village as the best means of preserving a balance between population and resources. He points out that continuing of migration on from the country to the city will lead to more serious social consequences—in the decline in both the number and quality of the people—and these will in turn have serious economic and political consequences in permanent unemployment

and distress. On the other hand, the back-to-the-farm movement will mean uneconomic use of rural labor and further lowered standards of living for farmers already below the margins of comfort.

Suburban development and the decentralization of industry, it is felt, will have definite advantages. Family life in villages is more satisfactory, as indicated in the population balance; the cost of living is less than in cities; schools and other institutions are better than in rural areas. There are better provisions for the older population and the aged. So far as employment is concerned, the village can check the flow of billions of dollars annually from the rural areas to the city. Part-time farming can develop more rapidly. Most important, it is perhaps the most likely means of restoring the population age structure and of checking the present unwholesome and menacing imbalance which holds so definite a threat for the future.

But the small towns and villages are, at present, least hospitable to Negro members, and provide definitely less security as well as a more constricted occupational range. One consequence appears in the high proportion of broken or one-parent families. Another is the migration rate from the small towns to the cities of the North. Evidence points to the fact that the Negro population tends to gravitate to areas of surplus wealth over the requirements of the white population for subsistence.

Population research as a rule is significant only over a long period of time. Estimates of population growth are useful only if they can take into account social and economic contingencies. One of the most urgent issues in population studies is that of the accurate recording of the data themselves. There are, characteristically,

under-counts of the Negro population from persistent though known and correctable causes. The fluctuations in the rate of increase in the Negro population as enumerated by the census, are for certain decades utterly improbable. As Dr. Joseph A. Hill<sup>7</sup> points out, the rate of increase of Negro population from 1850 to 1880 was fairly uniform, or a little over 20 percent. From 1880 to 1890 it dropped to 18.5 then came back to 18 for the decade 1890 to 1900. Then there was a drop to 11.2 between 1900 to 1910, and down to 6.5 between 1910 and 1920. Then in 1930 it jumped to 13.6. Without any important immigration, and with a constantly declining death rate, these abrupt changes point to deficient enumeration certainly in 1890 and in 1920, and perhaps in other years.

The racial classification itself is inaccurate at a significant point, because of the difficulty of reliable information on mixed bloods. Again, there is still considerable indifference in the registration of Negro births, thus leaving a grave margin of speculation on fertility and reproduction rates. Age classifications for Negroes are not clearly defined because of uncertainties in a population 10 to 20 percent illiterate, about its own or the other family members' ages on which these informants give information.

Population problems are today taking on serious political as well as sociological significance. It is, thus, all the more imperative that the statistics should have the sound undergirding of knowledge about, and acquaintance with, the people and the processes involved.

<sup>7</sup> "The Composition of the American Population by Race and Country of Origin" by Joseph H. Hill. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 188 (November, 1938).

## TEACHING AND RESEARCH IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### RECOLLECTIONS OF A PIONEER IN SOCIOLOGY\*

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#### I

SOCIOLOGY began to gain attention in our country with the eighties of the last century. Spencer's massive *Principles of Sociology* was getting about in the late seventies and early eighties and the great opposing work, Ward's *Dynamic Sociology* came out early in the eighties. Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* was brought out in 1879. Save at Yale, where Summer, a disciple of Spencer, was teaching the extremest *laissez-faire*, sociology was almost without recognition in American Universities. I never had any instruction in it but, thanks to my intimate contact with Ward, whom I met in January, 1891 and whose niece I married, I offered a course in sociology when I became professor of political economy at Indiana University in September, 1891. I had 25 in my class and I actually tried to put them through Spencer's two thick volumes and Ward's two—in all more than 3,300 pages of stiffest reading! Practical teaching texts in sociology were still some years away.

\* Read before the Sixth Annual Meeting of the Southern Sociological Society in Atlanta, Georgia, April 4, 1941.

#### II

You can form no idea of the difficulties we pioneers had to meet. When we sought to show how societies evolve or that there has been a long and very slow growth of culture, the preachers penned us up in the scant six thousand years supposed to have elapsed since the Creation of Man. Or else they brushed aside all our evidences of social evolution with their private and arbitrary notions of "God in History." In December, 1894 I developed the germs of my first book *Social Control*, which was brought out in 1901. I held that in all societies distinctions are drawn between good conduct and bad, the former being favored as promotive of the social welfare, the latter condemned as injurious to the social welfare. Reasonable as this seems, the theologians rejected it on the ground that after Adam's Fall in the Garden of Eden his descendants inherited complete moral blindness and were utterly incapable of distinguishing correctly between right and wrong until Divine Revelation cleared their vision.

#### III

Another obstacle was the wide prevalence among the free thinking of Utopian



ideas. Since God had created man to be happy, the enormous volume of human suffering and misery must be due to our having gotten off the right road. The preachers insisted that the secret of widespread evil and unhappiness is sin, meaning thereby not wronging the fellowman but offending God. The Marxists found the root of it in the private ownership of the means of production (capital), and the resulting inevitable exploitation of the workers. The single taxers traced the persistence of wholesale poverty in the midst of economic progress to the arbitrary appropriation and monopolization by the few of God's gift for the use of all, viz., *the land*. The philosophical anarchists held that great numbers are rendered impotent to help themselves owing to the curtailment of their freedom by the coercion of Church and State, both operated by a small well-organized minority in their own interests.

Now, the sociologists were as concerned over mass misery as the Utopians but their researches brought them to a different outlook on the problem of evil. They concluded that the state of society at a given time is the outworking of many factors, some helpful, others hurtful. Society is to be improved by excising or neutralizing the latter, strengthening or adding to the former. As a rule a very bad social condition is brought on not by the operation of a single maleficent factor, but by the coöperation of several factors. Consequently, Utopia is not to be realized by a *single* reform, no matter how deep-going or far-reaching, but by the joint operation of a number of well-adapted reforms, some of which can be realized only through a series of stages which may require a generation or more. This is why sociologists are never visited by apocalyptic visions of the abrupt disappearance of all major social ills if only free trade is adopted, or

*laissez-faire* becomes the prevailing policy, or a single tax on land values is imposed, or male domination over females is ended, or patriarchal authority is overthrown, or the manufacture and sale of beverage alcohol are stamped out, or property is prevented from accumulating in the "dead hand," or natural resources are "conserved."

I suppose the policies from which the largest variety of desirable effects may be expected are: controlled parenthood, the extensive diffusion of genuine education, the throwing open of the doors to opportunity, the shattering of caste distinctions, and the abolition of war. We sociologists doubt that the social heaven is to be reached in a single bound. We are pluralists; we insist that several factors are involved in a many-sided social progress. We predict that a major social reform is not likely to prosper unless a wide understanding of and sentiment for it have first been built up through many years of agitation and education. We have no patience with the endless postponement of salutary social reforms out of tenderness for vested interests. The Tory position is not ours; we merely contend that in twenty years you may be able to achieve peacefully and with success a fundamental reform that you can put over only in the face of violent resistance and with great likelihood of failure if you will have it "right off."

#### IV

After we had exploded the hoary dogmas which cluttered up our field we next addressed ourselves to building sociology. The first step was to go out and collect facts, compare them, analyze them, and find what they added up to. We were not so naïve as to imagine that, if you stacked up facts high enough, presently a worth while generalization would crawl

out and look you in the face. Well did we realize that hundreds of hours of close and critical thinking might be necessary in order to arrive at a correct interpretation of what the facts collected might signify. But at least we had ceased to put our faith in arm-chair theorizing and were bent on coming to grips with the reality we professed to deal with.

## V

In the late eighties and early nineties the chief topic of debate among us was *laissez-faire* vs. what Ward called "Sociocracy." Spencer and his American interpreter, W. G. Sumner, stood for the former. It was a singularly arid and uninspiring doctrine, in bad odor because it had long been apologist and defender of the most odious anti-social practices of private capitalism.

Ward was anything but a Marxist. By "sociocracy" he did not for a moment mean "the totalitarian state." He was not urging that all the means of production be taken over by the State. As I see it what he meant was that with the growth of intelligence society will come to be aware of itself as an undying corporate entity perduring the lives of many generations, and will take rational measures to safeguard and improve its future. Among the policies which flow logically from society arriving at an intelligence and will of its own and feeling a concern for its welfare in the future are:

1. The conservation of natural resources as against the destruction and waste so often committed by hard-pressed or short-sighted individuals.

2. Care for the future of race quality whereas most individuals either deem themselves entirely fit for parenthood, or in any case, limit their concern to their own descendants. Now that the elimination of the less fit has been so greatly

checked, society must either pursue eugenical policies or else resign itself to an incessant weakening of its human base leading to visible degeneration.

3. It is of collective concern that everything possible should be done to support and encourage scientific research.

4. The fighting of disease is far from being of purely private or family concern. In many ways the volume of disease may be reduced by public agencies.

5. The diffusion of essential knowledge is so basic in respect to culture-level and advance that in most parts of the world education is recognized as a collective concern of the greatest importance. Without its promotion democracy in society and government cannot last.

## VI

Never for ten seconds have I doubted that a science of society is bound to arrive. When I taught my first university course in sociology what was in sight might have been 10 percent of what sociology will be at the end of this century, 60 years hence. At present I venture to rate our sociology at 50 to 60 percent of what it will be in 2000 A.D. So never for one moment have I been in doubt as to the glorious future of our branch of knowledge. See how biology leaped forward in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Well, sociology has come forward in much the same way in the half-century since 1890.

## VII

I suppose astronomy, the oldest of the sciences, began to "get somewhere" with Copernicus' theory of the movements of the heavenly bodies. Physics got on her way with the discovery of universal gravity and the law of gravitation. Chemistry had to be taken seriously after Lavoisier's discovery of the true nature of

combustion. Biology came of age with the discovery of variation, survival of the fittest, and the evolutionary adaptation of species to their environment, *i.e.*, with Darwin's contribution. Now what new insight or discovery set sociology in the way of becoming a genuine science?

It might be the finding that society *evolves*, in fact, cannot be prevented from evolving even when there are no remoulding events, catastrophes, leaders, reforms or fresh directions of policy, such as constituted the stock in trade of the old-fashioned historian. The soil is wearing out or slipping down the rivers; stores of natural wealth are near to exhaustion, or fresh ones are discovered. New crops and industries come into favor. Changes in popular taste redirect production. Owing to unequal rates of increase some strains in the population are insensibly gaining on other differently-endowed strains, so that the heredity of the folk is being altered for better or worse. Without splash or fanfare the people's culture takes in new elements. Items thrown off by original minds or borrowed from another culture replace items that have been handed down. As thus the culture is modified there may be changes in the preferred type of personality, abandonment of some traditional life objectives, remodelling of certain social customs and institutions.

Recognition that the molecular changes in the social body may be quite as far-reaching as the visible mass changes throws a new light on the historian's job. If he is to recount truly the life story of a particular society he will have to explore and take into account many obscure processes which hitherto have entirely escaped notice or else have been

neglected as unimportant. Fewer of his pages will relate to notable persons or events. Capital letters will become sparser, fewer dates will be given, purple patches will be rarer!

Another fruitful discovery is the need of a sharp distinction between a people and its culture. Hitherto we have been rating peoples and races according to what we find them to be, making little or no allowance for the unlikeness of the cultures which are moulding them. But when we pause to reflect we realize that everyone of us had savages and cannibals among his ancestors. What has made us what we are today is partly social influences and social organization, partly culture. It is the business of sociology to set forth the former, of cultural anthropology to set forth the latter. Between them they ought to be able to explain all the differences among peoples which are not traceable to race.

### VIII

When I consider how many outworn traditions, false dogmas, and unsound notions that had a grip on the American public mind in the eighties of the last century have since been swept into the rubbish heap, I feel sure that sociology has a glowing future in this country. I should say that now those with a scientific outlook upon society have *forty times* the influence that they had when I won my bachelor's degree in 1886. I venture to predict that the mossbacks, windbags, blatherskites and charlatans who had such power over Americans then will have but a negligible influence by the time the next generation is at the tiller of society.



## METHODS OF TEACHING: IMPRESSIONS AND A VERDICT\*

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ONE of the best things that has been said about method is Cooley's remark about methods of research. "A working methodology" he said, "is a residue from actual research, a tradition of laboratories and work in the field: the men who contributed to it did so unconsciously, by trying to find out something that they ardently wanted to know."

I think one may fairly apply Cooley's dictum to methods of teaching. The best methods are likely to be those that the teacher has worked out for himself in the effort to teach; that is, to transmit to his pupils, under the conditions which the classroom imposes, some body of information, of ideas or of practices which represent, presumably, the accepted tradition in his particular field of study.

There is always likely to be too much routine and too little imagination, too much discipline and too little self-expression in our educational procedures. I say this with a certain degree of reservation because I know that in certain instances methods designed to encourage self-expression, on the part of pupils have resulted in something like nervous prostration in teachers—not to mention the incidental destruction of the school room furniture.

I am, of course, all for such self-expression as the so-called progressive education encourages but not on the part of the students merely. Teachers, like students, are inclined to regard their textbooks as

sacred literature,—the last word on a subject rather than the first.

In my own experience the most effective and the most inspiring teachers have employed the most unconventional and the least formal methods. If I am less disposed than I might otherwise have been to accept orthodox methods of teaching it is because I am convinced that the influence which an uninhibited teacher, with insight and understanding, can exercise upon a pupil, though often emphasized has rarely been overestimated. My own case as an illustration.

When I entered the University of Michigan in 1883 I was 19 years old. I had learned in school, during the fourteen years, off and on, in which I have been a pupil, little or nothing. This I discovered shortly after my arrival. It was true I had read much, but not by any means the best, even of what was accessible to me. Probably the most stimulating stuff I had encountered up to that time was Bob Ingersoll's lectures, "The Ten Mistakes of Moses," and a protracted series of rather ribald debates on the subject of evolution, carried on by a society of young radicals in our town. That debating society seems to have played about the same role in my intellectual life that the debates of the Hell Fire Club did in that of Benjamin Franklin, when he was a boy in New England. Our town was in Minnesota, but was settled by New Englanders.

However, I did discover geometry while I was in high school and found it exciting. I made a sort of game of it, trying to work out the problems, as far as possible, without referring to the demonstrations in the text. Otherwise I was not interested in

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school, the result being that when I entered the University I was, for all practical purposes, an ignoramus.

The teacher who "pulled the kivers off and woke me up," as an old colored man once put it, was Calvin Thomas, who was just then making his reputation as a German scholar and teacher. He was the first real scholar, as I realized later, I had ever met. The others were just teachers. German was his subject but I learned much more than German from him. After the first ten days in freshman German we had a written quiz. On that quiz he gave me a score of ten on a scale of 100. Incidentally he informed me, in a note at the bottom of my paper, that if I was six times as good a student at the end of the semester as I was then he could not possibly pass me. That note changed my career. I had been a football player, and an outdoors boy. I became a student and a consistent burner of the midnight oil. I found, almost for the first time, that I could be interested in what was going on in school. My interest in going to college had not been, originally, intellectual but practical. I intended to be an engineer. I became instead a student of philosophy, and was presently possessed with a devouring curiosity to know about the world, and all that man had thought and done.

I think the very best teacher—at least the very best lecturer—I ever studied under was Georg Friedrich Knapp, at the University of Strassburg. He was,—believe it or not,—at once a statistician and a historian, and his most popular course was a history of European, and particularly German, agriculture. Among other things I got to know and to understand from him the German peasant. In fact I gained from his lectures a knowledge of peasant life so complete and intimate as I would never have believed it possible to

have of any people with whom one had not lived. These lectures were delightfully anecdotal, and at the same time amazingly informing, the product of an acute mind and an extraordinary amount of patient, scholarly investigation. It was, however, the art with which they were presented that impressed me most.

Knapp used to put a complete analysis of his lectures on the board. This analysis itself was a work of art. With this outline and his exposition of the subject, including the anecdotes with which he illustrated it, one felt that one never need look at a book on the subject again. One did, however, want to go and see and learn from first hand observation more about the people of which he had spoken. That course, aside from what it taught me about teaching, was an immensely stimulating introduction to, and orientation in, a field of study in which I have been interested ever since, namely, peasant economy and peasant life.

When I came South a year or two later to make the acquaintance of the Negro peasant, I found, to put Mr. Kipling's phrase in reverse, that the things you learn from the whites will help you a lot with the brown and the black. Finally, and this is a mere detail, I recall that in concluding his course of lectures he referred us, as further introduction to a more detailed study of the subject, not to a scientific treatise but to a novel, *Der Bitner Bauer*, which I purchased and read with interest. It suggested an idea by which I have ever since greatly profited, namely the value of realistic fiction and of literary description in bringing into view the more intimate and human aspects of life, giving the student in this way, not the authentic knowledge he is seeking, but at any rate that "acquaintance with" the situation and the subject that is as in-

dispensable to the sociologist as it is to the historian.

Another of my teachers was William James and I learned about methods of teaching from him, mainly, I think, because he had no methods,—at least no formal methods,—at all. James did not lecture, he merely discoursed, and though he did, in one of the courses, use a textbook, it was a textbook on theology and he used it, as it seemed to me, somewhat like a red flag to a bull, to excite the class and start discussion. Once started discussion went on in a very effective but irregular way, not wholly unlike one of the so-called "bull sessions" with which students are familiar. At any rate what one learned was not what one got out of the textbook, but what one got out of the discussion. And what did one get out of these discussions? Certainly nothing that could by any extension of that term be described as erudition. Our discussions were neither historical nor doctrinal. They were, perhaps, metaphysical. At any rate they remained entirely in what Santayana would call "the realm of the spirit." What one got from them was not knowledge, certainly not knowledge in the ordinary sense of that word, but insight and enlightenment.

What made them memorable were the occasional and seemingly casual remarks with which James would from time to time illuminate the subject of discussion. I remember an occasion when, after listening patiently to a prolonged debate about evolution and progress, he remarked, wearily in a kind of aside; "Progress! Progress is a terrible thing. How much effort, how much suffering, how much disillusionment it has cost us first and last." As he went on to elaborate this theme we found ourselves looking down in retrospect the long vista of evolutionary history in the course of which man had

arisen to his rather precarious preeminence on our little planet, with something less, at least, than the enthusiasm with which we had previously looked forward to its continuation in the future. After that, somehow, we lost interest in the debate and, as for me, I have never had the same interest in progress since. Is this an instance of James' method or is it just his temperament? I am sure I do not know.

I recall another apparently casual remark of James that cleared up a rather extensive area of confusion in my mind. One of the things we discussed in this course was the proof for the existence of God. It seems a little quaint to me now that anyone should want a proof of the existence of God or find any comfort in it after he got it. But Professor Royce, who was James' colleague and neighbor in Cambridge, formulated and published such a proof while I was at Harvard. To me it all seemed a little mystifying, like taking a rabbit out of a hat, and I was neither impressed nor convinced by the argument. At any rate the proofs for the existence of God was a live topic in the department of philosophy at Harvard at that time. So it was that we found ourselves one day discussing the attributes of God. What were they? Someone suggested that one of God's attributes was infinity. Infinite in what? Infinite in space? Infinite in time? And what would that mean anyway? "Infinitely old," said James, and that remark banished once and for all, so far as I was concerned, any further interest in the attributes of God. It did more than that. It banished scholasticism. From that time on logic, and formal knowledge of every sort, ceased to have for me that interest or the authority they once had. Ideas were no longer to be anywhere or in any sense a substitute or a surrogate for reality and the world of things.



Thenceforth my interest was in science rather than philosophy.

A great many things seemed to happen in James' classes. I recall that one day a grandson of Brigham Young who was a student at Harvard reported in the seminar on abnormal psychology on Mormonism. This was at a time when James was writing his lectures on "Varieties of Religious Experience." Another time this seminar went in a body to visit an insane hospital at Providence, Rhode Island. James discovered among the patients an old friend. This friend was walking about in the hospital garden, on the arm of an attendant, in a great state of exaltation, telling how he was now directing the stars in their movements and, in general, managing the affairs of the universe. James immediately took his arm and walking along in the most natural way, listened sympathetically and with real interest, as if he expected, as I believe he did, some new light from this insane man on this wild and irrational universe of ours, in which, in spite of all the order man had so far discovered in it, anything, it seems, may happen. This was characteristic of James' interest in everything human and of his radically empirical view of things in general.

The most memorable event in any of James' courses, as I now recall, was his reading in one of his classes, I do not now remember which, a paper he had just finished writing entitled "A Certain Blindness in Human Beings," published later, and very properly it seems to me, as an addendum to his "Talks to Teachers." I mention it here because I am convinced that this address, in preference to anything else that James or anyone else has written, should be required reading for sociologists and for teachers. James' purpose in writing this paper was theoretic rather than practical or pedagogical.

It was for him, the expression of an article of faith.<sup>1</sup> To me, however, it is the most radical statement of the difficulty and the necessity,—considering that the very existence of society, as we know it, depends upon our ability to achieve understanding and consensus,—of communication in a society composed of individuals as egocentric as most of us naturally are. When I speak of the necessity of understanding in society I mean such an understanding as is embodied in tradition and is necessary to the transmission of a culture from each successive generation to the next, this being, according to Dewey, the essence of the educational process.

I did not realize when I sat down to write this paper that before I got through, it would turn out to be a chapter in an autobiography. However, I am not now writing my memoirs. I have had many teachers. I am mentioning here merely those from whom I learned something about methods. John Dewey was another of these.

One thing I now recall as characteristic of Dewey's method of teaching is that his students always seemed to have had the notion that he and they were somehow engaged in a common enterprise. With him learning was always, so it seemed, an adventure; an adventure which was taking us beyond the limits of safe and certified knowledge into the realm of the problematic and unknown. We always had a conviction, at the very least, that something was doing and that we were going somewhere, although we did not always know just where.

Dewey was not a particularly thrilling lecturer but he was an inspiring leader,

<sup>1</sup> James believed, as I once heard him say, that the most real thing is a thing that is most keenly felt rather than the thing that is most clearly conceived. This was where he differed with his colleague Royce.

and under his leadership we moved forward with a confidence, even though we were not sure of our destination.

I referred earlier to the fact that the educational process, as we know it, goes on under conditions that are imposed by the classroom. What are those conditions? I will mention merely one.

A class is, ordinarily, a mere aggregation of individuals engaged in a more or less enthusiastic contest for the approval of the teacher, and, ultimately, for grades. Such an aggregation is not,—as under certain conditions it might be,—an organized or collective unit, engaged in an organized and planned pursuit of knowledge.

Under these circumstances the easiest, and perhaps the only thing to do, is to intensify the competition for place and rank, making the work of the class a kind of game, trusting that now and then, here and there, some individual will be lit up by an idea and begin the pursuit of knowledge on his own account. If no one is lit up; if there is no pursuit, no adventure, no thrills, nothing that impels the student to venture off the beaten track; if every one in the class moves along with the herd, progress will be slow; and interest,—the interest which participation in a common enterprise usually inspires,—will flag, eventually evaporate. Worst of all the knowledge so acquired is likely to be purely formal and verbal.

Under these conditions what the student gets in school is information rather than insight; definitions rather than ideas; conclusions and convictions that close minds rather than facts that reorient them. Under the insidious influences of the classroom hypotheses, which are intended to raise questions, and theories, which are designed to guide research, frequently take the form of doctrines,—doc-

trines which, since they give us, or seek to, a final and authoritative statement of truth,—tend invariably to terminate investigation and discourage that disinterested curiosity which is characteristic of children and of science, particularly pure science, if science is ever pure. Doctrines have their function, but they are practical rather than theoretical.

Dewey and James were pragmatists. What I learned from them was the value of experiment and experience as distinguished from exposition and of research as opposed to scholasticism, as a method of education in the social as well as the physical sciences.<sup>2</sup>

It was from Dewey that I got, to use a newspaper phrase, my first great "assignment," the assignment to investigate the nature and social function of the newspaper. I have been working on that assignment ever since.

Another man, whom I knew longer and from whom I learned more than from any of my other teachers, was Booker Washington. After two years at Harvard and four years abroad where I had gone to study the newspaper, I finally finished my education, as I told the students of that institution a few weeks ago, at Tuskegee. I may as well tell how that happened. After six years of philosophy I was a little weary of the academic atmosphere. I wanted to renew my connection with the world of men and things. It happened that the foreign secretary of the Baptist Missionary Association, Dr. Barbour, had just returned from abroad with some very gruesome evidences of the atrocities of King Leopold's rule in the Belgian Congo. He wanted some one to help him

<sup>2</sup> The Method of scholasticism is dialectic, i.e., discussion. Its function is to make ideas with which we operate clear and consistent. But thinking is more fruitful when it is in touch, at least, with an empirical world, that is a world of chance and change.

advertise conditions in that part of the world. As a result I became the first secretary of the Congo Reform Association. I was at that time very little of a missionary, and my experience as a newspaper man had convinced me that reform was not enough. But the Congo looked to me like a "good story."

In the course of the campaign to arouse public opinion on the subject of the Congo natives, I sought out everyone in the United States who knew anything about the so-called Congo Free State and anyone else who could be interested in the fate of the natives there. It was in this way that I met Booker Washington. By the time I met him, however, I had become convinced that conditions in the Congo were not the result of mere administrative abuses. Rather they were the conditions which one was likely to meet wherever a European people had invaded the territory of a more primitive folk in order to uplift, civilize, and incidentally, exploit them. I said something about my theory to Washington. I told him I believed the evils of Leopold's regime in the Congo, were endemic, i.e., one of the more or less inevitable incidents of the civilizing process. He did not seem interested. His mind was essentially pragmatic and he was rather allergic to theories of any sort. When, however, I told him that I was thinking of going to Africa; that there was, I had heard, at Lovedale, South Africa an industrial school for natives, and that, if there was any solution of the Congo problem it would probably be some form of education, he invited me to come to Tuskegee. I went to Tuskegee to stay a few weeks, but I remained for seven years.

One reason I stayed as long as I did was because I had been convinced shortly after my arrival that the problem of the American Negro was merely an aspect or

a phase of the native problem in Africa; it was, in short, a problem which, like slavery, had arisen as an incident in an historical process and as a phase of the natural history of civilization. This was, also—although he would not have stated it in such formidable terms,—Booker Washington's conception of the matter. It was, in fact, from him that I first gained some adequate notion of how deep-rooted in human history and human nature social institutions were, and how difficult, if not impossible it was, to make fundamental changes in them by mere legislation or by legal artifice of any sort. It was the first time I realized that social problems, in so far as they are not problems of administration or of policy, are problems of fundamental human nature and culture.

During those seven winters I was at Tuskegee I went all over the South. I did not associate to any extent with white folks but I did get pretty thoroughly acquainted with the upper levels of the Negro world, about which southern white people at that time knew very little. On the other hand I gained very little knowledge, except indirectly, about that nether world of Negro life with which white men, particularly if they grew up on a southern plantation, knew a great deal. These seven years were for me a sort of prolonged internship during which I gained a clinical and first hand knowledge of a first class social problem.

My apprenticeship was too long, no doubt. If learning is to be adventure it cannot be at the same time a vocation. If we are to make of education a voyage of exploration we must eventually return to base, in order to give an accounting of our discoveries. However, the time I spent at Tuskegee was never dull. In fact it was crowded with events and I have never regretted the experience.



For one thing I was increasingly impressed, while I was there, that I was in the unique position of seeing, as it were from the inside, the intricate workings of an important and significant historical process,—a process by which, within the wider cultural framework of American national life, a new racial and cultural minority, or as Washington once put it, "a nation within a nation," was visibly emerging, that is taking new form and substance, as the result of a struggle to raise its status.

At Tuskegee I was, it seemed, at the very center of the Negro world. I had the access to most everything that was likely to throw light on the processes that were slowly but inevitably changing Negro life and the South. I even used to have some of the letters referred to me that were hard to answer, because they were based on some of the numerous and typical misunderstandings of the racial situation. I learned much about the race problem in my effort to analyze the ideological misinterpretations upon which these letters were based.

If I got more than I otherwise would out of my experience it was not merely that I had the opportunity, but because I had the preparation that enabled me to learn from what I saw and heard. Returning from Europe I was no longer a newspaper man but a student. It was as a student, participating in a great enterprise, but sufficiently detached to see it in its more general social and sociological significance, that I looked at the Negro and the South.

During all this time I was exploring and discovering what was for me an entirely new world, a world which up to that time had remained veiled in misapprehension and misunderstanding, and there was, it seemed, no end to it. Every year, every month the situation seemed to

change. Things were, to be sure, changing, but not as rapidly as they seemed. It was I who changed.

What was the source of this transfiguration of attitude and sentiment? It was not merely that I had gathered new impressions and more facts. It was that, from my wider experience I had gained new points of view and new insights. It is strange and a little disconcerting to observe what different aspects familiar and obvious objects may assume, if we see them from different points of view, or look at them out of different eyes. And this is particularly the case when the objects we are looking at are human beings whom we see and know, if at all, only through their faces, their customs, and their cultures. That this is so is due in part, no doubt, to that "certain blindness in human beings" of which James speaks, and to those distances—social distances, as we call them,—which separate individuals, living in one world from all those living in some other.

It seems to me now as I look back upon it that the methods of teaching I found in operation at Tuskegee were not only the most original but the most elemental and fundamental I have anywhere encountered. They were elemental because education, as Booker Washington conceived it, was not limited to the students in school but included the great public of thoughtful men of both races, North and South. It was education designed to complete the work of emancipation and change the character of an institution that had grown up and become fixed in the habits, the customs, and ideology of a whole people.

I cannot go into any great detail, as I wish I might, in regard to the methods which Booker Washington devised to carry out his epic task. They included, among other things, the publication of a rural newspaper, a Negro Year Book,

and an annual report on the statistics of lynching.

Most original of these educational devices, it seemed to me, was the Negro Farmers Conference. This conference which brought together annually the Negro farmers in Macon and the neighboring counties to discuss local affairs, gained in a short time such a reputation that it brought people together from all over the South.

Instead of attempting to instruct this gathering, or exhort it, Washington's method was to get from its members some sort of report, based on their own observation and experiences of the actual conditions of rural life, as they knew them in their own communities. In attempting thus to reverse the ordinary educational procedure it was necessary to inhibit some of the natural eloquence of those who wanted to make speeches and to bring to the fore the less articulate individuals, particularly those individuals who, because they had achieved something,—even if it was no more than raising a pig, or purchasing a mule,—had something to tell. What Washington and the conference wanted to know was, mainly, how they did it.

The information which this procedure brought forth, couched in the quaint, homely but eloquent language of the people themselves,—enlivened by anecdotes and illuminated by quaint humor and touches of pathos,—was the most moving and informing, not to say inspiring report on the state of the country and the human aspects of Negro life in the rural South that one could well imagine.

It was vastly more intimate, more suggestive and, at the same time, more actual than any formal investigation or report could possibly have been. It was more actual because it brought the participants face to face not merely with the

facts but with the facts as they were reflected in the minds, the aspirations and sentiments of the people for whom these formal and physical conditions constituted the externals of a world.

As a method of instruction, the procedure of this conference, which lasted all day and was opened with prayer and enlivened with the singing of hymns,—hymns the people themselves had created,—has not, so far as my experience goes, been anywhere equaled by any more formal type of instruction. Not only were the Negro farmers present instructed and inspired by what they heard of what other men, living under the same condition as themselves, were doing to improve their lot, but other farmers in other places throughout the South, to whom the accounts of what had taken place at these meetings eventually circulated, were awakened and made curious about the new gospel, and the new realism with which that gospel viewed the Negro farmer's problems. Thus the circle of participants continued to widen from year to year throughout the South. Eventually these conferences brought into existence a form of oral or folk news, which, like the traditional folk ballads, tended as it circulated to assume the form of a folk literature.

It was the element of news in these conferences as it was, for example, in the rhetorical at Tuskegee which made them locally famous. At these exercises, to which the whole school turned out, groups of students employed in one or the other of the several industries carried on by the school reported on the nature of their work, its function and importance in the total economy of the school. The students in this case were actually trying to communicate rather than to recite. The accounts which they gave of the tasks in which they were employed, were,

therefore, always interesting as well as informing.

And then they were encouraged to dramatize the accounts they gave of their tasks. If it was the work of the printing office or the dairy which they were demonstrating they would seek in some ingenious way to reproduce or suggest the whole setting, even to milking a cow on the stage, if this was part of the drama. One time I recall the students employed in the Institute post office brought over practically all the furniture of the post office including a set of government mail bags. While some of the students were demonstrating how the mail was distributed, some one else read a paper telling how much mail the office handled and all the different countries from which it came, etc.

I was probably the more impressed by this sort of rhetorical exercise because it was so entertaining and instructive as compared with the Friday afternoon rhetorical with their frigid little essays that I remembered of my own school days. Besides they had, as I have said, the element of news in them. They told us what was going on in the community.

News, as a form of knowledge, is a report of an event that gives one a new slant on a familiar theme. It presupposes the existence of a common interest or a common enterprise in which the community and the public to which the news is addressed participates. News is therefore never altogether new, otherwise it would not be intelligible. If its implications were not fairly obvious, news would not make people talk, and would not, therefore, get that wide and rapid circulation which news invariably achieves. It is when something that occurs in the class—something concerned with the lesson of course,—that makes students talk, that one knows that students have got something from the classroom.

Booker Washington was, I might add, an inveterate reader of the newspapers and invariably kept abreast of events inside or outside his world. It was,—more than anything else, I suspect,—the fact that he knew so well the world in which he lived that Washington was able to inspire so many people in America, besides his own students, with the conviction that at Tuskegee students and teachers were not merely learning and teaching, but participating in a great and significant enterprise, namely the education and elevation of a race.

It was this broader conception of education which led Washington to found the Negro Business League, not so much to advance Negro business as to educate the Negro people. It was also the reason for all of his books, his magazine articles and his speeches—speeches which, though he repeated them over and over again from one end of the country to the other, were always new, because they were always the old themes interpreted in terms of the new events. This was at a time when the influence and prestige of Tuskegee was so great that outsiders, sometimes waggishly and sometimes scornfully, referred to the school as "the capitol of the Negro race."

I have gone into some detail in describing the Farmers Conference and some of the other educational devices which Booker Washington made use of at Tuskegee because they seemed to me to illustrate what every form of education might well strive to be, namely, at once a voyage of discovery, and a means and medium for an intelligent participation in the life of a community. That means one would not train students to be lawyers, doctors and teachers, merely, but rather encourage lawyers, doctors and teachers to be interested in medicine, law and education, considering each as an integral



part of the cultural tradition in which all live and have their being. This would not relegate technical education to the status of a means or instrument of a successful career, but make it rather a method of participation in a way of life. And this is actually what Tuskegee, rather more than any school I ever knew, succeeded under Booker Washington, in doing.

It is a very curious fact, it seems to me, that a Negro who had been a slave, and was in any case a more or less self-educated man, should conceive and establish, not a school merely, but an industrial school, which put into operation methods of teaching, designed to educate men and women, less for any one specific occupation than for the actual business of life, that is to say, participation not merely in the economic life of the community but in all the varied interests that constitute the conscious life of a race or a people.

My conviction is that Washington was able to do this to the extent that he did because (1) he was identified with a people who had a problem; and because (2) he had a program which touched, directly or indirectly, all the interests of the people for whom it was devised.

This suggestion that the school should be more intimately related to all the diverse interests of life of the student and the community, does not imply that schools, in order to give students more zest for the work in the classroom, must go into politics. God forbid. What it intends, at least, is that knowledge is and should be always finally and fundamentally practical. The fact is that science has invariably grown up about problems and that facts are, so to speak, only facts in a universe of discourse. A universe of discourse, I might add, is something which has come into existence to enable individuals associated in any one of the several sciences, or associated for any other com-

mon purpose, to think consistently and to act understandingly, and in some sort of concert.

But science is something more than a universe of discourse or a frame of reference; something more, in short, than an apparatus for systematic thought. Science is always concerned not merely with an ideal but a real world.

Sociology was bred in scholasticism. In so far as it retains that earlier orientation it seems concerned with ideas rather than things. Society, however, is not an idea, but a thing,—an organism, to be more specific. Societies grow, adapt themselves to conditions, compete among themselves, live like plants and animals. More than that they carry on wars and organized conflicts with one another, as animals do not.

Sociologists cannot solve their problems by dialectics merely, nor by making programs for other people to carry out. Sociology must be empirical and experimental. It must, to use Booker Washington's expression, "learn by doing"; it must explore, invent, discover, and try things out. So must students; so must education.

This paper started out to say something rather definite about methods of teaching. As I have had some experience as a student and a teacher, but very little acquaintance with current pedagogical doctrines, it seemed that it would be appropriate for me to review some of my experiences as a pupil before I attempted to discuss the methods I have myself found successful as a teacher. But I have, I find, drifted quite out of my course, as I originally charted it, and I have been more concerned with methods of learning than methods of teaching. The two things are, of course, related.

As I shall not have time to say anything

about classroom methods based on my own experience as a teacher, it seems, I might, nevertheless, summarize in conclusion, my experience as a pupil. Of the teachers I have had from whom I learned most only one, Professor Friederich Knapp, it seems, had a method that could be described as systematic, such a method I mean as teachers are looking for when they talk professionally about teaching. The others all seemed, like a horse out in pasture, to be intent on cutting capers and escaping from the trammels which the classroom ordinarily imposes.

Education, however, must have methods, and knowledge must finally be pre-

sented in an orderly and systematic fashion. Otherwise knowledge becomes a mere personal possession which can be used but cannot be socialized, i.e., funded like science and transmitted from one generation to another in books.

The point which I am most interested in emphasizing is this: systematization of knowledge cannot be done successfully either by the teacher alone, even with the assistance of a textbook. The student must do some of the work of discovery and some of the work of interpretation and formulation for himself. My experience is that he does not do this, and that he has never learned how.

## THE CONCEPT OF CO-OPERATION IN TEXTBOOKS OF INTRODUCTORY SOCIOLOGY

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THIS paper discusses the amount of emphasis given to Co-operation in textbooks of introductory sociology published from 1920 to 1939 inclusive. The books themselves, on the whole, blend Co-operation as theory and process with its actual functioning in concrete ways, and for this reason no attempt is here made to refine the data in terms of theoretical and practical aspects. Co-operation, in whatever context, is here treated as coming within the framework of the interactive social processes.

In 1937 a monograph was published entitled *Competition and Co-operation*. It credited sociologists with viewing "society itself as the sample *par excellence* of Co-operation." It also drew attention to the fact that Co-operation in its practical features had been developing rapidly in the last hundred years. Further,

it held that Competition and Co-operation "embrace a multitude of connotations bearing on the central problem of human relations."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mark A. May, and Leonard W. Doob, *Competition and Co-operation* (New York: Social Science Research Council, April, 1937), pp. 2-3.

"Leaders of thought at the present time nearly all agree that in the Western World competition has produced a rich technological culture which now, because of radically altered conditions, can be enjoyed by men only if they learn to displace the no longer productive competitive practices with new, as yet only partially discovered, co-operative ways of living. Formerly nearly all the virtues of society were attributed to individualistic competition, but now the reverse judgment prevails. As the older practices, suitable to newly formed industrial societies possessed of high social mobility, become less productive, they are more and more frequently declared to be anachronistic. The very term "competition" has become dyslogistic, and "co-operation" has become freighted with eulogy. This shifting of the balance has been

Question is not here raised as to the postulates and propositions of this monograph, but there remains some doubt as to whether very many authors of introductory texts in sociology have seen the co-operative process in human society as having any luminous power in its own right. Long before this monograph appeared, a few sociologists had been asking why Competition and Conflict tended to form an almost total eclipse over Co-operation in the list of social processes in so many of the textbooks. While the thought behind this present article was conceived in the early 1930's, it was not until later in the decade that a very considerable concurrence of thinking was detected among colleagues in sociology. Recently an increasing number of introductory texts give evidence of being Co-operation-conscious but not many of those published prior to 1930 would give anyone the notion that sociologists considered Co-operation as linked up with anything *par excellence* above the insect world.<sup>2</sup>

Hence, it is not particularly startling

occurring gradually but in recent years with acceleration. The trend is well illustrated by the fact that since 1840 the number of voluntary international (non-political) gatherings has doubled in each decade. Such a rate of increase in common undertakings cannot be due to any fundamental alterations in the original nature of man. It must be due in part to belief or faith in collective action and, in this case, to the rapid growth of a new vision of world co-operation, increasingly attractive to all races of civilized man, though still far from realization."

<sup>2</sup> A statistical side-trip, made by one of the authors of this article, to see whether possibly some school or system of Sociology might be somewhat responsible for Competition-emphasis or Co-operation-neglect, yielded no evidence that any particular university or sociological system had had such influence upon textbook writers. Apparently something more fundamental than association with a "system" as a student or teacher is responsible for the diversity and paucity of treatment given the concept of Co-operation in introductory texts.

to find in a widely adopted textbook published in 1940, the following:

... the study of Co-operation has been slighted by sociologists, their attention having been given largely to the phenomena of opposition. Because of our highly competitive society, sociologists are under considerable compulsion in their selection of subject matter, although perhaps unwittingly so. They are Competition-conscious. ... The picture of Co-operation can be drawn in clearer detail if the two processes are considered together. ...<sup>3</sup>

Another much used book, revising its original content (1937) as of 1940, reveals a shift of emphasis in treating Social Interaction:<sup>4</sup>

1937	PAGES	1940	PAGES
Social Interaction..	10	Social Interaction..	16
Competition and Conflict (with 2 pp. on Co-operation).....	15	Competition and Co-operation (with 12 pp. on Co-operation)...	18
Accommodation and Assimilation	18	Social Conflict....	11
		Accommodation and Assimilation	19

A year before these two new textbooks appeared, the exploration discussed in this article was under way. How "Co-operation-conscious" were representative introductory texts published between 1920 and 1939 by American sociologists? A total of sixty-five books was examined. A few are certain to have escaped tabulation, such omissions being entirely unintentional.

A venture of this sort is fraught with difficulties of general method and of detailed delineation. Conceptual use of the word "Co-operation" cannot be separated satisfactorily from descriptive

<sup>3</sup> W. F. Ogburn and M. F. Nimkoff, *Sociology* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1940), p. 345.

<sup>4</sup> R. L. Sutherland and J. L. Woodward, *Introductory Sociology* (Chicago: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1940), (Second Edition, Revised), Part V.



and illustrative uses as these connect with action programs. How to weight the values in a scoring device is always a problem. A book like Blackmar and Gillin (also Gillin and Blackmar, 1933) may seem to score low in co-operative emphasis, but when one considers that their several editions open with a consideration of Co-operation, this early location of a brief discussion might deserve more weight than several paragraphs elsewhere in the book. This, then, suggests but one of several qualitative immeasurables. Since the objective was more quantitatively to sketch, however roughly, the use of the concept of Co-operation the following admittedly crude method was devised.

If Co-operation was not mentioned in either the Table of Contents or in the Index, the volume was not searched page by page but was classified as having no treatment of Co-operation. While such an arbitrary procedure might not be vindicated by a careful reading of the book, it is safe to assume that the concept is not considered of much importance if it does not appear in the Table of Contents or in the Index, especially in such formally organized material as an introductory text is likely to contain.

Some of the sixty-five textbooks are additional or revised editions of basic texts. When reference was made to Co-operation, the treatment was carefully read and the following six items noted. In order to facilitate quantitative analysis the data were combined into an index number, using criterion and weighting by points as follows:

1. Number of chapters devoted to discussion of Co-operation—One chapter = 10
2. Number of chapters devoted to discussion of Co-operation in addition to or in relation to some other topic—One shared chapter = 5.

3. Number of paragraphs devoted to discussion of Co-operation in chapters not included in 1 and 2—One paragraph = 2.
4. Number of paragraphs devoted to discussion of Co-operation in addition to or in relation to some other topic not included in 1 and 2—One shared paragraph = 1.
5. Total number of pages covered by discussion in 1, 2, 3, and 4—Ten pages = 1.
6. The number of index references under the heading of Co-operation—Ten index references = 1.

The weighting of these items is open to dispute but has the following reasoning behind it:

1. A major treatment of a concept in an introductory text will be found in a separate chapter devoted to it.
2. Next in importance would be a chapter devoted to the concept and related subjects.
- 3-4. Separate and shared paragraphs discussing the concept indicate a much less prominent position in the total treatment or system of sociology.
5. The number of pages is a duplication in another form of the items already included in combining a score and is somewhat contingent upon the length of the book.
6. The number of index references is also a repetition of items already included and is contingent upon the skill and thoroughness applied to the making of the index.

With respect to 5 and 6, contingency upon irrelevant factors could have been somewhat eliminated if the proportion of pages and references to the total number had been calculated. Such refinement would be out of place in this admittedly rough method of estimating a useful score to indicate the quantitative aspects of the treatment of Co-operation in these books.<sup>5</sup>

In Table 1 is presented an abbreviated

<sup>5</sup> In addition to the six measurable items, verbatim definitions of the concept, together with any statement made by the text author to indicate how important he considered Co-operation, were recorded; also the general context, in which the subject was discussed, was noted. These were not valued.

TABLE 1

MEASURED CONTENT OF EMPHASIS UPON CO-OPERATION IN INTRODUCTORY TEXTS IN SOCIOLOGY PUBLISHED BETWEEN YEARS 1920 AND 1939

AUTHORS	YEAR	TOTAL SCORE	MOST OF THE SCORE DUE TO ITEM NUMBER
(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
Beach.....	1925	13.0	1
Binder.....	1937	13.1	1
Binder.....	1928	12.9	1
Blackmar and Gillin*....	1923	1.3	4
Boettiger.....	1938	9.2	2
Bogardus.....	1922	2.5	3
Bogardus.....	1925	6.7	3
Bogardus.....	1931	2.2	3
Bogardus.....	1934	3.5	3
Bushee.....	1923	0.0	
Carver.....	1923	0.0	
Case.....	1924	13.5	1
Clow.....	1920	1.4	4
Cooley, Angeli, and Carr.	1933	2.2	3
Davis, Barnes, et al. ....	1927	3.7	3
Dawson and Gettys.....	1929	1.1	4
Dawson and Gettys.....	1935	0.0	
Dealey and Ward.....	1920	0.0	
Dow.....	1920	0.0	
Dow.....	1922	0.0	
Dow.....	1929	0.5	6
Dow.....	1937	0.1	6
Duncan, H. G.....	1931	0.0	
Ellwood.....	1924	2.9	4
Fairchild, H. P.....	1924	7.2	3
Fairchild, H. P.....	1927	0.2	6
Fairchild, H. P.....	1934	4.4	3
Finney.....	1923	4.0	3
Finney.....	1930	3.5	3
Finney.....	1933	3.4	3
Giddings.....	1920	1.3	6
Giddings (Odum, ed.)....	1932	0.1	6
Gregory and Bidgood....	1939	0.0	
Groves.....	1928	6.2	2
Groves.....	1932	13.9	1

\* 1933 edition (Gillin and Blackmar), total score, 1.5.

TABLE 1—Concluded

AUTHORS	YEAR	TOTAL SCORE	MOST OF THE SCORE DUE TO ITEM NUMBER
(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
Haas, F. J.....	1930	9.0	3
Hankins.....	1929	0.0	
Hankins.....	1935	0.0	
Hart, Hornell.....	1927	5.7	4
Hayes, E. C.....	1930	4.4	3-4
Hiller.....	1933	18.3	1-2
Kulp.....	1936	6.1	2
Lumley.....	1928	12.4	1
Lumley.....	1935	2.7	3
MacIver.....	1931	0.2	5-6
MacIver.....	1937	3.5	3
Muntsch and Spalding....	1928	0.0	
Murray, R. W.....	1935	0.1	6
Osborn and Neumeyer....	1933	11.4	2
Park and Burgess.....	1921	0.1	6
Park (Outline).....	1939	2.2	3
Reinhardt and Davies....	1932	12.9	1
Reuter and Hart.....	1933	0.1	6
Ross.....	1920	12.2	1
Ross.....	1923	11.0	1
Ross.....	1930	11.1	1
Ross.....	1933	14.8	1
Ross.....	1938	12.1	1
Snedden.....	1935	19.8	3-2
Sumner and Keller.....	1927	9.1	2
Sutherland and Woodward.....	1937	6.9	3
Wallis.....	1928	0.0	
Wright and Elmer.....	1939	12.4	1
Young, K.**.....	1934	14.3	1
Zeleny.....	1937	19.8	1-3

\*\* 1939 edition, total score approximately the same as for 1934 text.

tabulation—condensed for purposes of simplification—by author, by year of publication of his text, by total score of the six items of measurement, and by a designation of the item or items which accounted for most of the score. A

complete tabulation, for example, would appear as follows:

AUTHOR	YEAR	CRITERIA BY POINTS						TOTAL SCORE	MOST OF THE SCORE DUE TO ITEM NUMBER
		1	2	3	4	5	6		
Groves...	1932	10	0	0	0	1.7	2.2	13.9	1

A summary of Table 1 would be as follows:

1. Sixteen texts have a separate chapter on Co-operation, (Number 1's in column *d*).
2. Seven texts combine a chapter on Co-operation with some other topic, (Number 2's in column *d*). The Hiller text has a separate chapter on Co-operation. In the Ross books an entire unit is devoted to "Co-operation and Organization" although only one chapter in the section is entitled Co-operation; these volumes are classified as having only one chapter on the subject.
3. Twenty-one texts have at least one separate and formal paragraph on Co-operation, (Not fully revealed by number 3's in column *d* because of abbreviated table). Of these twenty-one books, four also have a separate or shared chapter on the subject.
4. Twenty texts have at least one formal paragraph dealing with Co-operation and some other topic, (Not revealed by number 4's in column *d* because of abbreviated table). Of these twenty books, fifteen also had a chapter, and/or a shared chapter, and/or a formal paragraph on Co-operation.
5. Twenty texts do not have as much as a page of discussion on the subject. Of this number, eight made some mention of Co-operation but not enough to equal more than half a page. The

largest number of pages on the subject in any book was twenty-eight.

6. As for index references, the least significant component of the total score, there are thirteen texts with no reference to Co-operation. One book has no index. The most numerous index references were found in Young, 28; Groves, 22; and Hart, 19.

The range of scores is 19.8, the upper limit; with 0.0 for the lower limit. The mean score is 5.8 and the median, 3.5. Twelve texts score 0.0. A table showing distribution of scores by years would reveal first, that the distribution of scores is not normal and second, that there seems to be no regular trend during the twenty-year period. A time series indicates irregular peaks and valleys marching across the chart. The mean of the first decade, however, is considerably smaller than the mean for the second decade, respectively 4.3 as compared with 6.8, a difference of 2.5. Since almost all the textbooks for the period are included, the difference observed is essentially the actual difference in the universe under discussion, thus indicating that on the average Co-operation has received more attention since 1930 than prior to that year. On the assumption of a hypothetically unlimited number of textbooks which might have been written, the observed difference is not significant,  $\left( \frac{M_2 - M_1}{\sigma_{M_2 - M_1}} = 1.285; P = .20 \right)$ .

Nor does there seem to be, during this twenty-year period, any particular trend towards a more extended or less extended treatment of the concept as new editions of these textbooks are prepared. Not that the authors with more than one edition stick by their initial guns, although some of the so-called revisions are little more than re-printings. Of the



thirteen authors listed with more than one text or with more than one edition of the same text, three authors gave considerably more attention to Co-operation in later volumes, five show a rather marked decrease, and five end up just about as they started. An analysis by editions does not indicate that the variance between editions is significantly greater than the variance within editions. The basic data is presented in Table 2 and the analysis of variance in Table 3.

TABLE 2  
CO-OPERATION-SCORES OF INTRODUCTORY TEXT-  
BOOKS IN SOCIOLOGY, TWO OR MORE EDITIONS,  
BY AUTHOR AND BY CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE,  
YEARS 1920-1939

AUTHOR	EDITION				MEAN
	First	Second	Third	Fourth	
Beach.....	13.0	13.1			13.05
Bogardus.....	2.5	6.7	2.2	3.5	3.73
Dawson and Gettys.....	1.1	0.0			0.55
Dow.....	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.1	0.15
Fairchild.....	7.2	0.2	4.4		3.93
Finney.....	4.0	3.5	3.4		3.63
Giddings.....	1.3	0.1			0.70
Groves.....	6.2	13.9			10.05
Hankins.....	0.0	0.0			0.0
Lumley.....	12.4	2.7			7.55
MacIver.....	0.2	3.5			1.85
Ross (Principles).....	12.2	11.1	12.1		11.80
Ross (Outlines).....	11.0	14.8			12.90
Mean.....	5.47	5.35	4.52	1.80	

On March 12, 1941, a query was sent to ten representative sociologists, eight older men and two younger authors, all having produced a total of nineteen introductory texts between 1920 and 1939. Their scores for content of Co-operation, for the most part, fell below the median (3.5); three texts equalling or exceeding slightly the mean (5.8). Here is the query—and be it known in the interests of Co-operation that in less than a month all ten had replied:

In a study of introductory texts published between 1920-1939, we find that some of them give more emphasis to the Co-operative process, and to Co-operation in actuality, than do others. Your most recent text is among those with relatively little or no emphasis. In view of the development of Co-operation for a century in the western world, would you be inclined to give more space to the Co-operative process if you were to revise your introductory text today? See questions on the reply part of this card. Please answer at least "yes" or "no" and if you will, expand as time and inclinations dictate.

1. Has Co-operation received too little space in your book as compared with the treatment of competition-conflict processes?
2. Would you give more space in a revision to:
  - (a) the co-operative process?
  - (b) the co-operative Movement?

Their answers are set forth in their own words in Table 4.

TABLE 3  
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF THE CO-OPERATION-  
SCORES OF INTRODUCTORY TEXTBOOKS IN SOCIOLOGY BY EDITIONS OF YEARS 1920-1939

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUM OF SQUARES	DEGREES OF FREEDOM	MEAN SQUARE VARIANCE	RATIO OF LARGER TO SMALLER M.S.V.
Total.....	649.231	32		
Between editions....	26.011	3	8.67	
Within editions....	623.220	29	21.39	2.467

Here it is seen that one-half of these authors feel that Co-operation has had too little space or emphasis in their previous works and that it would have fuller treatment in future revised introductory texts. Both the younger sociologists are in this group. It would seem that authors B and E do not see eye-to-eye with authors F and J on this subject.

In conclusion, it is not vital that all sociologists see precisely eye-to-eye; even natural scientists do not do so in their interpretations of cosmic phenomena. Nor is it important for sociologists to analogize via Darwin to point out that organic evolution and individual organic

functioning are evidence aplenty of reciprocal balance between Competition and Co-operation. It may be somewhat in-

cate that there is nothing irrational in the interlacing of the two principles, or when they suggest that Competition is likely

TABLE 4  
ANSWERS FROM TEN AUTHORS OF INTRODUCTORY TEXTBOOKS IN SOCIOLOGY AS TO WHETHER IN REVISION THEIR EARLIER BOOKS THEY WOULD BE INCLINED TO GIVE MORE EMPHASIS TO CO-OPERATION  
(Abbreviation: C = Co-operation)

AUTHOR, BY REGION AND AGE	SCORE, EARLIER TEXT RELATED TO MEAN (5.8) OR MEDIAN (3.5)	Q. 1, EARLIER TEXT, TOO LITTLE SPACE?	Q. 2, REVISED TEXT WOULD HAVE:		EXPANSION OF ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS
			(a) more on C process?	(b) more on C Mov't?	
(A) West, older	Median	yes	yes	yes	In revision just coming out, will give much greater emphasis to C.
(B) Southwest, younger	Below Median	perhaps	yes	?	C. process a special form of Accommodation, subsumed under "participation"; C. Mov't. would come under Social Movements
(C) North Central, older	Below Median	yes	yes	yes	C. process will have much greater place in my new book
(D) South, younger	Below Median	yes	yes	yes	Would give much more space to both C. process and C. Mov't. in revision; in present teaching, trying to compensate for insufficiency of C. emphasis
(E) Northeast, older	Below Median	yes	yes	no	(a) Decidedly yes; none of the social processes is adequately treated; much more attention should be given to C. as a basic aspect of social relations (b) No, or very little; this is a special and not basically important aspect of C.
(F) South, older	Mean	?	?	yes	I should have to make a careful analysis before answering; suspect that C cannot be fully understood with (sic) clear comprehension of Conflict
(G) Middle State, older	Below Median	I think not	Probably not	no	My chapter on ——— really C; also many occasional references; C covers Conflict. (b) Not if C. Mov't is meant in limited sense
(H) Northeast, older	Median	perhaps	might	no	Perhaps too little <i>direct</i> treatment given to C. process but implied throughout. (a) Might make it more specific. (b) No, book is on other lines
(I) North Central, older	Below Median	no	no	no	(No written reply; but in face-to-face conversation seems to see "little point" to the query, for sociologists)
(J) Middle State, older	Below Median	no	no	yes	In any fundamental understanding, C. is simply an aspect of Competition; it is not an independent and coordinate process. Perhaps this was not made clear in my Introduction; it should have been. (b) C. is important as a <i>Movement</i> ; it is <i>not</i> important as a <i>process</i>

Note: Seven of these ten authors, averaging two texts each in the 1920-1939 period, have been presidents of either the American Sociological Society or of a regional Sociological Society.

teresting, however, to do this as well as to quote from sociological masters such as Giddings and Cooley when they indi-

to persist beyond the point where it ought to be dispensed with, while intelligent Co-operation always lags behind. Cer-

tainly an interest in Co-operation as a part of Social Interaction is not predicated upon a desire to promote a cult of Co-operation. The "ought" may enter into the thinking about the social processes, if, as evaluated in terms of social control, Competition and Conflict tend to be divisive processes and Co-operation tends to make for constructive unity. It is important to recognize that men do Co-operate in a multitude of ways in primitive and in advanced societies. It is also inescapably important, as May and Doob have pointed out in their penetrating monograph, for any discussion of Competition and Co-operation to be viewed as involving goals, motives, achievements, and aspirations and be considered as a two-fold unity. An increasing

number of sociologists seem to find no difficulty in linking the processes into reciprocal balance in their writings.

It may be true that we have been "Competition-conscious." Modern industrialism has filled the atmosphere with haze. Nothing could be clearer, however, than the observable growth of co-operative practice in the so-called progressive countries of the western world especially during the past hundred years. Whatever may be thought or taught on the theoretical side, that is a fact. Not without significance is another fact: an increasing number of introductory writings in sociology indicate that Co-operation is emerging from its textual eclipse as something worthy of more scrutiny by teachers and students.

#### SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL AWARDS

Eighty awards, totalling \$75,000, for the academic year 1941-42, have been announced by the Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Avenue, New York. The awards provide for study and research in the fields of economics, political science, sociology, statistics, political, social and economic history, cultural anthropology, social psychology, geography, and related disciplines.

Seven of the awards, carrying a basic stipend of from \$1800 to \$2500, plus travel allowances, cover post-doctoral research training fellowships to men and women under thirty-five years of age who possess the Ph.D. degree or its equivalent. These fellowships are granted for the purpose of enlarging the research training and equipment of promising young social scientists through advanced study and field experience.

Thirteen appointments are pre-doctoral field fellowships which carry a basic stipend of \$1800 plus travel allowance. The recipients are graduate students under thirty years of age who have completed all the requirements for the Ph.D. degree except the thesis. These fellowships are intended to supplement formal academic study by opportunity for direct contact with the materials of social science not available in the classroom or library.

The remaining sixty awards are research grants-in-aid, designed to assist mature scholars in the completion of research projects already well under way. These grants average about \$450 and do not ordinarily exceed \$1000. Twelve of these appointments were made through a special fund specifically granted for the purpose of assisting and encouraging the research of social science faculties in the South. The objectives and requirements for eligibility are the same as those governing the national grants-in-aid, but applications are restricted to fourteen southern states.



## PUBLIC WELFARE AND SOCIAL WORK

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### SOME PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE STATE UNIVERSITY\*

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#### PRESENT SITUATION

AS A necessary preliminary to examining some of the problems of social work education from the point of view of the state university in the Southeast it is well to outline the situation as it exists at the present time. In the ten states comprising membership in the Southern Sociological Society there are three state universities with schools duly accredited by the American Association of Schools of Social Work; one accredited municipally supported school, and two privately supported schools. One of the latter is for Negroes. In addition there are departments of social work in two state universities that are working toward becoming accredited. With one exception the other state universities of the Southeast offer, or contemplate offering, instruction in social work. One state university makes no pretensions to nor entertains aspirations for offering instruction in social work.

The accredited schools of social work restrict their offerings to the graduate or professional level. Some make the dis-

tinction between a professional school or course and a graduate department or course. This distinction is not uniform since instruction in social work can be found in a department of social work, a division of social work, or a school of social work.

The schools that are working toward becoming accredited place emphasis upon the bachelor's degree as a prerequisite, but also find themselves obliged to admit undergraduate seniors, apparently to justify the cost of instruction. The remaining schools not yet accredited are pointing in that direction or inclined to require graduate standing, but quite frequently, indeed usually, admit undergraduates. Many of these latter schools have no intention of ever becoming accredited, but feel that even though they are not offering professional training in social work they are meeting a present need which calls for college graduates with some knowledge of social work.

In those schools offering professional instruction only all courses, technical as well as of a general nature, are available throughout the curriculum. In those instances in which undergraduates are admitted they are limited to certain of the more

\* Read before the Sixth Annual Meeting of the Southern Sociological Society in Atlanta, Georgia, April 4, 1941.

general rather than the specific and technical courses. For example, while Social Case Work or Case Work With Children, or Psychiatric Information for Social Workers would not be available to students in graduate departments or to undergraduates there would be other courses such as Introduction to Public Welfare, Principles of Child Welfare, and Community Organization that would be.

A still further variation is found in those universities that offer social work courses only at the undergraduate level. In most cases these offerings are of a general character such as Introduction to Social Work, The Field of Social Work, Introduction to Public Welfare, Community Organization, Juvenile Delinquency, Problems of Child Welfare, School Attendance Service. Occasionally even a university that restricts its social work offerings to undergraduates may hazard a course in social case work or even undertake field work placement in a public or private social agency.

Several state universities offer all or the bulk of instruction during the summer period only. In one instance there is a very immediate relation between the training at the university and the certification requirements of the state department of public welfare. One university quite frankly is undertaking, during the summer months, an in-service training program for state welfare employees.

A final variation in the program of instruction in social work is the practice of one state university offering extension courses in various parts of the state to employed social workers. The institution does not intend the courses to be equivalent to in-service training, but it does recognize its obligation as a state university to meet certain needs throughout the state until such time, if ever, it can offer a more orthodox training program through a school of social work.

A review of the foregoing reveals that there is no set pattern for offering social work training on the part of the state universities of the Southeast. At the one extreme is a forthright policy of "hands-off," further along the line are fully accredited schools, then schools on the way to being accredited, still further universities making no clear distinction between graduate and undergraduate instruction, and at the other extreme from the "hands-off" policy is the instance of the university carrying instruction out to all corners of the state. It is clearly evident that each institution is seeking to meet certain situations that have become emergent within the last decade. No two institutions face quite the same problem, and no two have followed exactly the same pattern. Certainly no one state institution is entirely satisfied with its program or feels that it has given the final answer. Each institution has faced endless difficulties. The remainder of this paper will undertake to survey some of the problems that have been cast up in seeking an adequate solution to the demands of recent years.

#### SOCIAL WORK COURSES—PROFESSIONAL, GRADUATE, UNDERGRADUATE

The basic question of whether education for social work shall be at the graduate or undergraduate level must be faced and answered by every institution that undertakes social work courses. Some universities have made the decision that their offerings shall be at the graduate standard and in conformity with the requirements of a recognized accrediting body. Several of these schools have pointed toward the professional aspects of training with emphasis upon their separateness as a professional school rather than as a unit of a graduate school. Others have found that the weight of tradition or academic exigencies (not to say expedencies) have contrived

to place social work training in the graduate school either as a division or a department.

Each of these institutions has satisfactorily met accrediting requirements, but the situation remains otherwise for those who are on the way toward accreditation. In the latter institutions social work usually has developed in departments of sociology where emphasis has necessarily been upon undergraduate instruction. To insist upon graduate courses exclusively in order eventually to be accredited and at the same time to feel the need to justify the expense of social work instruction by means of large undergraduate enrollment places a department of social work in an awkward dilemma. Sometimes the dilemma is resolved only after the American Association of Schools of Social Work has threatened to withhold its blessing and the department has had to make the decision to grow more slowly and less spectacularly, or it is resolved when the department gives up dreams of being tapped and accepts the pre-professional preparation of undergraduates as a less lime-lighted but perhaps equally worthy goal in view of the total situation.

A third group of universities has felt the pressure of undergraduates, particularly in sociology, for courses to prepare them for the many new jobs that, of late years, have mushroomed in the public welfare field. Faced with this pressure, coincident in many instances with lessened funds and unable to answer the question as to what there is about social work that requires anything more than a bachelor's degree (if that) college officials have been loath to expand existing departments. In still other instances the authorities, no matter how much they may have wished to introduce graduate or professional training, have decided the circumstances did not warrant the expense and rather than

do an inferior job at the graduate level preferred to concentrate upon pre-professional preparation in the undergraduate school.

These observations are recorded not to establish a hierarchy of schools or departments, but merely to indicate the need for careful deliberation and clear thinking in this area of social work training. Graduate schools of social work perform a valuable task of training social work practitioners; undergraduate departments of sociology may do a good job of pre-professional preparation, but it is essential to distinguish these two functions. Each is important. Each has its necessary place, but circumstances, time, tradition, staff, funds determine the one as well as the other, and it is usually the better part of wisdom to recognize this as a fact.

#### DEMAND FOR SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION

Most of the state universities of the Southeast report a strong demand for social work courses. It is necessary at the outset to differentiate the demand for undergraduate courses by students who have seen the possibilities in other fields diminish from the demand of workers who are asking for professional training as well as the demands of public welfare administrators for better trained personnel. The importance of these distinctions lies in the fact that it reaches to the core of social work education. Students press for undergraduate courses that will lead to jobs; workers want courses either to train professionally or to get salary increases and promotions; administrators want courses for workers primarily to get the job done efficiently. The response of the educator cannot be the same to each of these demands. During the present century and particularly within the last decade social work has come to be regarded more and more by social workers and others as well



as a vocation requiring training and experience. Since the establishment of the first training school over forty years ago the trend has been increasingly toward specialized training, and within recent years particularly the demand for trained workers has tended to outrun the supply. An inevitable result of this has been the tendency on the part of some schools to lower their standards at the same time that the profession as a whole and the accepted schools of social work have been raising theirs. This has resulted in a kind of fixation of many social work courses at an elementary level while the call has been going out continually for better and better trained people.

From the point of view of the state university undertaking to offer training in social work these demands have created some serious problems. To pitch social work courses at the undergraduate level merely to enable students to get jobs upon graduation means that the university has sidestepped its responsibilities in the field of professional education. If the universities are not to support and further a whole generation of advance in social work training they have yielded far too easily the educational leadership the community has a right to expect of them. No matter how hard the leaders in social work may strive for standards their efforts may be negated by the failure of the universities to progress with the times. As for professional and graduate training it is just as well to be realistic about it and admit it is expensive, witness the medical college, the law school, the dental school, the library school, and most graduate schools. Certainly social work training is not the least expensive of these. Qualified instructors are scarce and can command better than teaching salaries as supervisors or executives of social agencies. Library facilities cost money. Field work placements and

supervision of students so placed is anything but an inexpensive proposition. Furthermore small classes operate at a high per capita cost while the doubling or trebling of the enrollment may more than double or treble the per capita cost, curious though that may seem.

An aspect of this matter of cost that must be faced by the accredited school is the variability of the demand for training. In a sense this is not peculiar to schools of social work alone, but it applies particularly because of the necessity of enlarging or reducing staff and also of providing field work placements. An instructor in economics or sociology could face with equanimity—yea with jubilation—an increase of his class from twenty-five to fifty students. This is not necessarily true in specialized case work classes or in supervised field work placements for it is no easy task for a school of social work to locate twenty-five additional places for field work with qualified supervision when that number is exactly double the preceding year's assignments.

Another problem that arises in connection with demand is the recent tendency on the part of public welfare departments to call for students with one year of training. Most schools are reluctant to turn out a one year product, knowing full well how much more use the student makes of the second and final year. Because of the pressure of this demand and the many practical obstacles which face the establishment of a two year school a number of institutions have stopped at the one year level, a situation not uncomparable to a medical school that would turn out "doctors" at the end of two years. Turning out one year students as social workers by no means meets the necessities of the Southeast region for capable social work leadership nor does it fulfill the obligation of the state university to its people. Of

course half a loaf is better than no loaf, but by the same logic a whole loaf is better than half a loaf.

The obverse of this matter of strong demand raises problems as well. Suppose an accredited school is experiencing a steadily decreasing enrollment, or suppose a non-accredited school has insufficient student body. Is it better to close up shop or to struggle along to keep the school open? It is always easier to ask this question if it is somebody else's school. Conceivably it may be better to close. Conceivably there may be too many schools within the same general area. If we can face this as a regional problem rather than as the problem of one university or one state then it may be possible to reach a reasonable conclusion. By the same token if we could think regionally it might be of considerable advantage in the planning and development of new schools if and when they are needed.

#### FIELD WORK PLACEMENT

Perhaps as troublesome a problem as any in this matter of social work education is that of suitable field work placements for students in training. Ever since the early days of volunteer workers in charity organization societies and family welfare societies considerable emphasis has been placed upon learning not only by doing but by doing under supervision. Reading law in a lawyer's or a judge's office, learning medicine in a physician's office, practice teaching under the eye of a school principal are not unknown practices in the fields of law, medicine, and teaching, but education for the law, for medicine, and for teaching has long since passed from this early phase. Today embryo lawyers attend law schools and practice in moot courts, embryo doctors attend medical school and later become internes, embryo teachers attend schools of education and

conduct classes under the direction of properly qualified supervisors. Likewise is this true in social work. The embryo social worker attends a school of social work, is exposed to a certain amount of theoretical knowledge, and devotes anywhere from a third to a half of the time working in a recognized social agency. He is very largely on his own. When he holds interviews either in the office or in the client's home there is no one at his elbow to tell him what to say or what to do. He makes his own mistakes, some of them serious ones from which no agency can forfend him. What, in large measure, makes this experience a learning one is the opportunity it affords to consult and confer with a supervisor who helps the worker handle many of his doubts and uncertainties while also recognizing his strength. The supervisor does not teach the worker, the worker teaches himself; all that the supervisor does is to help the worker develop his own capacity for working with people. If this seems like an esoteric kind of learning it may be well to bear in mind that after all no one can ever learn for another person, all that one can do is to help another person develop his own capacity to learn.

If these premises are granted it must be clear how vital field work placement and supervision are in social work education. With the recent tremendous development of the public welfare field a critical situation has arisen in the area of training because of the increased case load per worker, the scarcity of trained workers, and the still greater scarcity of trained supervisors. Schools or departments undertaking education for social work have met this in most instances by placing students in the available agencies—public and private—and by providing supervision from the staff of the school. This has naturally run up the cost of instruction, since there

is a limit to the number of students who can be supervised adequately by one person. The very nature of the field work experience and the intensely individual way of helping the worker to learn restricts the number of workers who can be supervised by one person.

Another factor that needs to be considered is the availability of agencies, particularly in rural areas. Some agencies, even though accessible, may be so small as to make impossible a sufficiently adequate or representative experience. Occasionally an agency may be near enough to the school—yet be staffed by workers who are so incompetent or so indifferent that the placement experience may actually prove harmful to the student.

In the case of one or two schools the requirements for field work placement have been met by the school establishing and directing a field work center in a local department of public welfare. This step has been taken only after the possibility of using existing resources has been exhausted and when the likely complications and known disadvantages have been faced. Usually the artificiality of such an arrangement is recognized: that no social worker ever again finds himself in an ideally controlled and manipulated welfare office. If the cost of supervision runs high in such an experiment so does the price which the student and school pay for such an unrealistic set-up. Perhaps this is too strong language, but after all it must be recognized that no worker ever goes into a perfectly ordered agency.

There are still other problems that inhere in field work placement such as having available placements in rural *and* urban areas, as well as placements in public *and* private agencies. Frequently placements must be limited to too few agencies so that the student who may wish to enter the institutional field (i.e., mental hospital,

children's home, public health hospital), the court, probation or parole, Farm Security Administration, etc., may not be able to secure proper qualifying experience for jobs in those fields. Transportation of students to the field work agency is not a simple matter. Some schools meet it by requiring students to provide their own transportation, others by using faculty or supervisors' automobiles, others by arrangements with local U-Drive-It concerns, and yet others by charging an extra fee for field work courses.

Whether field work and class work shall run concurrently or whether they shall be on the block system presents a different problem to each school. Some placements can be made which will allow the student to work parts of each day or parts of each week and to attend classes; other placements may be at such a distance that no other arrangement can be made than to have a quarter or a semester of class work to be followed by a quarter or a semester of field work. If part of the school's schedule is on the concurrent and part on the block system the difficulties may appear insurmountable unless the enrollment is sufficiently large to utilize fully both student and faculty time.

#### INTERRELATION OF SOCIAL WORK AND SOCIOLOGY

Despite the close connection, historically, between sociology and social work there have been a number of schools of social work that have developed without benefit of sociology departments. This, however, is hardly the story in the Southeast, for there is not a school, division, or department of social work in this area that has not sprung from the sociological loins. Incidentally it may be noted that apparently this familiar relationship has been a relatively happy one unmarked by such unmannerly not to say acrimonious



rebellions that have characterized the parent-child relationships when the social work offspring lustily proclaimed its adolescence and had intimations of approaching adulthood. Likewise we have been spared, in the main, the suspicions, the rivalries, the word-throwings and the back-stabbings that have entertained a generation of onlookers as the sociology and social work siblings, cousins, and in some instances, very cross cousins proceeded to assert and maintain their mutual independence. Many sociologists of the earlier days in the Southeast were interested in the practical aspects of individual and social well-being, and it was but natural as a profession developed which aimed to help achieve this desired well-being that sociologists became its active sponsors. Not all sociologists would agree to this statement, but at least it holds with greater force in the Southeast than elsewhere. This historical fact and the present closeness of this relationship is evidenced by the offerings of the Southeastern sociology departments. Every state university, save one, in this area offers one or more social work courses.

Those schools or departments of social work which are accredited have arrived at a status separate from sociology. This has been a usual stipulation of the American Association of Schools of Social Work which likewise has influenced those schools or departments pointing toward accrediting. In some cases the break has been distinct, but in no university is it as clear cut as, say, the law or medical school from other units of the system. Almost without exception the school or department of social work looks to the department of sociology for pre-professional and orientation courses as well as for a basic grounding in the social sciences. Sometimes the graduate courses in sociology

will be permitted as electives in the social work curriculum.

In several universities the separation of social work and sociology departments has been maintained at the undergraduate level either because of the eventual possibility of developing a graduate school of social work or because of the presence on the staff of professionally qualified and academically approved instructors, or because of a combination of both factors. Social work courses offered at the graduate level are used for certification with the state department of public welfare or may be counted toward graduate credit in sociology. Undergraduate courses in social work are definitely labelled sociology and use sociology numbers. Should final status as an accredited school not be reached there is every indication that the social work department will merge with sociology or pass out of existence since few qualified social work teachers will justify the continuance of social work courses at the undergraduate level.

The real problem confronting universities offering social work and sociology is that of perceiving and maintaining the distinction between social work and sociology. Social workers have had set out for them over the last half century a huge task. They need to have the broadest kind of pre-professional grounding and to receive the best of available professional training in order to develop techniques and ways of helping people who are in need. During the same period the sociologist has been carving out his own area and has found he has plenty to do studying society as it is. A frank facing of the present situation will enable both parties to achieve the maximum of their usefulness. What is needed, however, is not a staking out of mutually exclusive boundaries but rather a definition of the core of their re-

spective fields and a concentration upon that. This does not rule out their interrelatedness and interdependence but it does make it possible for them to work without suspicion, distrust and antagonism. As the workers in each discipline feel a security in the thing they are doing there will be less personal and professional need to decry the other; rather an harmonious and mutually productive relationship can be continued. The universities in the Southeast have the opportunity to continue to demonstrate the truth of that proposition.

#### DIFFICULTIES OUTSIDE OF THE UNIVERSITY

Many of the difficulties already mentioned may be classified as essentially academic—i.e., difficulties in connection with securing adequate qualified staff, lack of suitable field work placement and supervision, paucity of scholarship or fellowship aid, inability to fit social work schedule into remainder of university curriculum because of field work interruptions, and last and by no means the least, the ever-present problem of budget limitations. Seriously as these affect training for social work there is another set of factors outside the university which may as profoundly affect what goes on within the academic halls. Many of these factors are related to state and county administrations of welfare. Even though there has been a large new area of public service opened, the salaries for most positions—speaking of the Southeast only—have hardly been high enough to attract the best of college graduates or to hold the graduates of schools of social work. Frequently the salary is less than that paid grammar school teachers who may not even have a college education. The net effect of this has been to discourage many of the likely college students from entering the public welfare field or from looking towards

schools of social work upon graduation. Other end results have been the migration of college students to other sections of the country, the enrollment of college graduates in non-southern schools of social work (many times never to return South) and the movement of social work graduates from Southern schools to jobs elsewhere (again, many times never to return). In financial terms this may mean a net loss to the Southeast (against which must be placed the gain when qualified workers enter the South after being trained elsewhere). In human terms it means a loss to clients in the Southeast—particularly the rural Southeast (again to be balanced by the inflow). A third effect has been the shunting of many potential social workers into other vocations for which they may not have as many potentialities for usefulness.

The insecurity of social work positions has been a limiting factor in any program of social work education. Since the early emergency relief days of the nineteen thirties the struggle between patronage and competence has been going on, with temporary victory first on one side then on the other. Many administrators, workers, and teachers welcomed the 1939 amendments to the Social Security Act with their apparent guarantee of a merit system, but the developments in some Southern states within the past year are anything but reassuring. Students hesitate before destining themselves for political spoilage, while others choose to go elsewhere (which is just what the politicians want, anyhow: after all why should trained social workers be allowed to enjoy the "charity racket" all by themselves!) or into the snigger security of the private agency. Even when the merit system has gone into effect there is frequently no provision made for salary increases or for promotion. Likewise

the emphasis upon local residence (no "furriners" from another county or state need apply) tends to restrict the numbers of eligible workers at the same time that it fastens an incompetent incumbent in office and discourages the capable workers. Most trained workers are naturally going to want to move up to larger and better paid positions and if every county has residence requirements such workers will move outside where the opportunities are.

Unsettled political conditions within the state have been a factor in eliminating potential workers, restricting educational leaves, and driving social work students to other states for training. Qualified people frequently do not choose to endure the punishment and insecurity that accompanies political upheavals and may prefer to market their abilities in areas less characterized by conditions of chronic chaos. Most of the public welfare workers on the job today were recruited in the early FERA, WPA and Social Security days from allied fields. Few of them have had specialized training, but many have found that social work is their career. Even though they may have thought of asking for a leave of absence without pay or educational leave in order to attend a school of social work they have been reluctant to make the actual request of their local board or the State Department for fear there would be no job to come back to. There are other students who would rather train in states where social work is regarded as more of a career service and be willing to take their chances there for positions upon graduation.

Ungallant as it may sound the presence of so many women in social work jobs in the Southeast has effected certain limitations touching such things as tenure and salary and even the recognition of social work as a profession requiring maturity,

training, and experience. Although it may not be proven statistically there is a considerable body of evidence that would substantiate the claim that were there a larger proportion of men in social work salaries would be higher, jobs more secure, and the work accepted by the community as a whole on more of a professional level. In all likelihood this would have very real implications for universities and schools of social work in the Southeast.

All of these elements have been in the situation and have had to be reckoned with by the universities contemplating training in social work or by the already established schools. Thus in the year 1941 one institution in a state without an accredited school of social work learned that forty-four state residents were attending schools of social work elsewhere. Faced on the one hand with such a fact and realizing its obligation as a state institution and faced on the other hand with the item of cost and the absence of a tradition of organized public social service in the Southeast the state institutions have of necessity moved slowly. This slow movement has at times been a main source of strength when will-o'-the-wisp experiments have gone unchased and at other times a force so conserving that unmet needs have accumulated and responsibilities been avoided with the specious plea that it is better to let matters be as they have been.

#### CONCLUSION

Practically all of the directors of Southeastern schools or departments of social work state that there is an active demand for trained social workers. In answer to the question "What have been the job opportunities for students after taking courses in social work?" one director tersely replied "There are more



jobs than students." Interpreted that means there are not enough trained students (or workers) for the available jobs. This is strikingly illustrated by the experience of the state director of the Farm Security Administration who was looking for a well qualified social worker to work with the Farm Management Supervisor and the Home Management Supervisor and to develop the possibilities of using social work in a rural county set-up. After combing the state there was not a single person qualified or if qualified who was available to take on that highly strategic assignment. The job actually held within it the possibilities of opening the whole Farm Security program to social work and vice versa. Failing to find a properly qualified worker the job finally went to a person who had had one three-hour orientation course in social work in an unaccredited department. One is reminded of the kingdom being lost for the want of a horseshoe nail!

There seems to be considerable agreement among those in responsible positions in the universities, schools, and departments that instruction in social work should be carried on at the graduate level. For those who insist upon a technical distinction between professional work and graduate work it may seem important to place social work in a separate professional school rather than in the graduate school. These individuals conceive of the aim of a professional school as the training in specific techniques and skills to meet certain practical situations whether they be in law, medicine, or social work. Usually, too, there is no specific graduated series of courses prerequisite to professional training. Graduate instruction these same individuals conceive of as directed toward the use of intellectual tools to add to existing knowledge and to devise other tools for

increasing our mastery of knowledge for its own sake. Such a concept demands a graduated series of courses—i.e., for graduate study in mathematics or classical languages, etc.,—as prerequisites for advanced study.

There may be other members of university faculties who admit a distinction between professional training and graduate training to whom it may not matter seriously that the exigencies of the situation compel the inclusion of social work education within the graduate school rather than permitting it an independent existence of its own. The important point is not whether instruction is in the graduate school or in a separate school but that it is directed toward the training in skills and techniques for working with people who come to public and private social agencies and need help of various kinds.

Most of the social work instructional staff have serious questions and doubts about the undergraduate courses in social work, particularly those courses that undertake to provide skills such as case work or that involve field work with clients. Since the early days of volunteers there has been a widespread conviction, based on experience, that work with people in distress demands maturity, training, and years of wide experience. It is seldom, if ever, that undergraduate courses or students meet these requirements. It is generally agreed that if students in sociology courses want to see life let them be volunteers in agencies or let them, better still, work on board ship, or on a cattle ranch, or in a machine shop, or sell aluminum, or peddle magazines, or wait on tables or clerk in a department store. But it is just as well not to label the volunteering or the valuable knock-a-bout experience as either sociology or social work.

After agreeing that social work training should be at the professional level—i.e., premised upon a bachelor's degree—those now actively directing social work education believe that instruction should not be undertaken unless a competent staff can be employed and adequate field work placements effected, and sufficient financial support assured. In other words the voice of experience says do not try social work education unless it can be done well. In order to answer the question whether it can be done well the voice of experience still further suggests that the situation be carefully studied from every possible angle. In view of this counsel it is necessary to know what the need and the demand is throughout the state or region,

what the possibilities of financial support are, whether the social work unit can do a job of recognized merit and on a par with that of other professional schools or departments. Such a proposed school or one already in operation must have active support (not necessarily financial only) from professional and non-professional groups throughout the state or region, and an effective working relationship with public and private social work agencies. Above all it must insist upon and adhere to the highest possible professional standards attainable at the time and under the circumstances, and be capable of continuing to adapt itself to the changing demands of a changing world.

## THE CHANGING PATTERN OF DESTITUTION IN AN URBAN AREA

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THE hundred neediest cases of New York City were published this year by *The Times* for the twenty-ninth time. They are very different in nature today from what they were twenty-nine years ago. The most pressing problems center now about the individual who is thwarted, through illness, handicap, or old age, in his effort to maintain his standard of living in an increasingly complex society. Three decades ago, on the other hand, attention was focused, not upon the broken individual, but on the broken home. The worst cases at that time were those where the suffering, caused by death or large numbers of children, extended beyond the individual family members to the family as a whole, particularly to the very young. This change is a reflection of a much broader

trend, not only in charitable practice, but in modern urban existence. It is perhaps a sign that we seek rehabilitation, rather than palliative aid. It is related to shifting socio-economic values which now tend to emphasize the rights of the individual to a minimum of security rather than to emphasize his moral responsibility to solve by himself problems caused by increasingly complicated and bewildering social forces.

This difference in the problems of the neediest becomes startlingly clear through a detailed study over time of the records of the 2,800 families. These cases are selected each year as the most severe by the leading private welfare societies from their own lists, and are presented by *The Times* without ornament or hyperbole. The reportorial policy has remained con-

stant throughout the period. As such, they reflect the changing pattern of destitution in an important urban area.

An analysis of the 2800 cases reveals eighteen different types of situations that are correlated with destitution. These factors may be classified into two main groups: (1) those tending to break up the

TABLE 1  
FACTORS IN 2800 CASES OF DESTITUTION 1913-1940

	NUMBER OF CASES IN WHICH EACH FACTOR OCCURRED*
<i>Factors tending to break up home</i>	
More children than family can support.....	721
Death of parent.....	647
Neglected children.....	372
Desertion.....	260
Bad housing and eviction.....	257
Death of both parents.....	171
Divorce.....	8
<i>Factors tending to cause unemployability</i>	
Chronic illness (not including tuberculosis).....	1,218
Physical handicap.....	547
Old age.....	401
Tuberculosis.....	369
Mental illness.....	188
Industrial accidents.....	142
Lack of vocational training.....	135
Alcoholism.....	73
War disability.....	30
<i>Economic failure per se</i>	
Business or bank failure.....	90
Unemployment.....	86

\* On the average 2.03 factors were involved in each case.

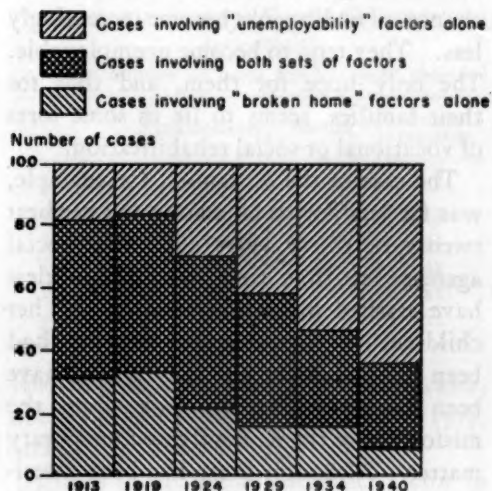
home, and (2) those tending to cause unemployability. A third group of factors relating to economic failure *per se* (unemployment and business or bank failure) is unimportant to this dichotomy since they are in every case intercorrelated with factors in one of the first two divisions. Furthermore, economic failure in

some form is, of course, implicit in each of the cases listed. This classification is given in Table 1.

The relative force of these two sets of factors in destitution has undergone significant changes during the past twenty-eight years, and reveals a shift from the broken home to the broken individual (see Chart 1).

Why has such a shift in the pattern of destitution taken place? A comparison between 1940 and 1913 may help to answer this question. Last year 59 of

THE CHANGING PATTERN OF DESTITUTION  
IN NEW YORK CITY, 1913-1940



the 100 cases were brought into the list of the neediest solely because their individual members were, for various reasons, on the road to unemployability. Chief among these reasons were illness, both physical and mental, other physical handicaps, and old age. Three typical cases:

Tom H. lost his right leg last September, when the same bone infection that had forced the amputation of his left leg four years earlier flared up again. . . . If this handicapped youth can receive vocational training for work within his capabilities. . . he may yet win his way to self-support.



Mr. R. worried constantly over his wife's ill health and his inability to get work. . . . Last year he had a complete mental and nervous breakdown which sent him to an institution. The physicians there decided that work and freedom from anxiety might cure him.

Richard K., 37 years old, is a cabinetmaker and carpenter by trade. Last summer he collapsed at his work. . . . from serious spinal trouble. A delicate operation was successful. The doctors assured Mr. K. that he would eventually recover his health, but they told him he must not work for a long time.

The problem of the personal futures of these people is today recognized. Having been unemployed for a prolonged period, habit structures break down, and their chances of finding jobs become increasingly less. They tend to become unemployable. The only hope for them, and thus for their families, seems to lie in some form of vocational or social rehabilitation.

The case of the K. family, for example, was far less apt to be among the neediest twenty or thirty years ago. The social agencies at that time would doubtless have assisted in feeding Mrs. K. and her children, if compensation benefits had been unobtainable; but they would have been more inclined to look upon the misfortune of the K. family as a temporary matter. Although there has been a residue of several million unemployable workers in the United States for some years, the presumption was that Mr. K. would obtain a new position as soon as he had recovered.

Thus the typical pattern of destitution includes those cases in which the individual must be restored, or his failure in some way compensated for. But this was not the situation in 1912 or 1913, when *The Times* appeals began. Some typical cases drawn from those years were:

The small earnings of a grandmother is the only income of a widowed mother, sick with tuberculosis, and her four young children.

In three rooms in an east side tenement is Mrs. M., a widow with her six children. Three years ago her husband was thrown from a wagon. Mrs. M. made a brave attempt to support her home without help. She is now on the verge of a physical breakdown.

Mr. McN. died just a little while ago of tuberculosis, and his widow is confronted with the problem of providing a home for her three young children and the baby who is expected soon.

The plight of these widows, and others like them, arose from the fact that the family as an institution was the main guarantor of security for its members. Anything that threatened the solidarity of the family foreshadowed danger, and was necessarily viewed with alarm.

In 1940, on the other hand, such cases rarely occur among the 100 neediest. Frequent as they still are on welfare lists, they are no longer the most perplexing. The typical case of the unreported B. family suggests why such situations are now regarded with greater calm. Mrs. B., who is left with three children by the sudden death of her husband, has no cause for utter despair. The task of bringing up her children is less complex than it would have been in 1913. There are now countless extra-familial institutions ready to aid her in solving the new problems raised by Mr. B.'s death. A nursery school takes her youngest child; she finds herself the recipient of mothers' aid, and of compensation benefits for the death of her husband; the teachers of her two older children are ready to act in some respects as substitute parents; visiting housekeeper service may be available, and the family welfare society believes it may be able to find employment for Mrs. B. Consequently, the story of the B. family no longer fits the characteristic pattern of the majority of neediest cases nowadays.

Similar changes can be found in the cases where the father is left by the death of

his wife with a family of small children. He is now better able than formerly to maintain his home by enlisting the co-operation of these various extra-familial institutions.

But what does this marked change in the nature of the 100 neediest cases mean in terms of the immediate factors in destitution such as illness, or old age? More fundamentally, what does it mean in terms of an altering world and shifting social philosophies?

Some of the immediate factors in the destitution of the 100 cases have gone up or down in the past 29 years in line with the general trend (see Table 2).

For instance, tuberculosis, which appeared in 24 of the cases in 1913 and dropped to an average of 8 during the past five years, was becoming steadily better controlled throughout the period. In New York City the tuberculosis death rate was cut in half between 1915 and 1930.

The decreasing size of the family is another general social change which has affected the character of the extreme case. In 1913, 28 of the 100 families had more children than they could support, as compared with 11 in the period 1935-39. Rowntree's now famous study of poverty in England, made in 1913, concluded that 71 percent of the destitution there was due to too many children relative to the family income; and similar conclusions were drawn about this country, although the percentage was never set quite so high. The decline of the birth rate since that time, however, has been pronounced. The crude rate in the United States has dropped from 25.1 births per thousand population in 1915 to 18 in 1940. The change has appeared in the so-called "lower" as well as in the "upper" classes.

As the size of the family has gone down, however, the proportion of older people

in the population has increased. This situation is further complicated by the fact that we still face our maturity with alarm. We continue to put a premium on youth. Thus, although we have more older people, we have not yet learned to appreciate or to make use of their merits. Today a man, physically young and active at 45, may discover that he is too old to find a job. (In the past, he was physically old at 45, but employable until he was 75.) In other words, our actual problem of increasing superannuation is exaggerated by our attitude toward it. This

TABLE 2  
FLUCTUATION OF SELECTED FACTORS IN DESTITUTION  
1913-1939  
(Average number of cases for five year periods)

	TUBERCULOSIS	OLD AGE	EXCESS CHILDREN
1913-14	23	5	28
1915-19	18	7	31
1920-24	12	11	31
1925-29	12	14	32
1930-34	10	21	21
1935-39	8	21	11

tendency is reflected in the 100 cases: old age was a factor in 5 of them in 1913, and in 21 of them in 1940.

Illness of all kinds is another factor in the neediest cases which is related to the broader trend. Although it increased until 1925, when it affected 86 of the 100 families, it has become less important as a cause in the past 15 years. Furthermore, there has been a recent tendency for more and more of the illness to be mental, rather than physical, in nature. There were 20 cases of mental illness among the 100 families in 1940, an unprecedented figure.

The change in the pattern of the extreme cases can be only partially explained, however, by drawing such parallels between particular factors and the general

trend. There were other forces affecting the 100 families which ran directly counter to the forces affecting the city or the country as a whole. To assume, for instance, that the number of broken homes had declined in the entire population as it did among the 100 families would be to defy the rates of death and desertion (the poor man's divorce), which have not shown a similar decline. Thus a complete explanation of the difference in the cases is only to be found in the evolving practice of welfare agencies, and ultimately in the whole complex of social and economic and philosophical change.

The shifting of attention from the family to the individual is consistent with the expansion of social work. Between 1913 and 1929, the number of private social agencies in New York City rose from 654 to 820, and the sums of money spent by them increased from fourteen and four-fifths millions to fifty-three and two-thirds millions of dollars. Commensurate with this physical growth was the development of the services offered by them, particularly in the matter of caring for indigent persons outside of institutions. Thus, in the years after 1913, these organizations grew more and more proficient in the handling of the severest family problems, until they finally become fairly confident of their ability, as an emergency measure, to substitute for the individual in the performance of his economic duty to his family. This development has undoubtedly tended to prevent many broken homes from arriving at the critical extreme, leaving the agency free to pay more attention to the rehabilitation of the breadwinner, whether he be father, mother, son or daughter.

The increased efficiency of private charity has, of course, been greatly aided by the accompanying rise in public relief. Indeed, government assistance to widows

and orphans in their homes was still controversial even in theory thirty years ago. In 1913, a week before *The Times* started its appeal for the Hundred Neediest Cases, Jacob H. Schiff, noted philanthropist, said: "It is the personal service which counts, and because of this I find myself in conflict with those who urge that the state ought to take upon itself the care of the widowed mother." Three days later *The Times* carried a report of the legislative hearings that were being held on the proposed Workmen's Compensation Bill. Widows' pensions, compensation bills, and other similar forms of public relief not only did not exist at that time, but were actually feared as leading to evasion of private duty toward the helpless and the needy. This is in strange contrast to the New York City home relief program of December, 1940, which, in providing free milk for 149,000 children, is representative of countless public measures which are being more and more accepted as a matter of course.

If the welfare society is now better able to cope with the problems of the broken home, there are at the same time actually fewer such problems to be dealt with today than there were a few decades ago. This is due to the broad social change which has streamlined the functions of the family. Bit by bit, the family has been relinquishing important parts of its province to other institutions: the school, the church, and the city, on the one hand; the cannery, the bakery, and the factory, on the other. The care of the house and of children became easier. As its function became simplified, the chances of failure in the minimum operations required grew less. As the demands upon it became more limited, the hardships resulting from such failure tended to lose their severity. In other words, through the changing function of the family,



the individual's economic role as a member of that family has been reduced in importance, at the same time that his economic rights as a supporter of his family are being given greater consideration by charitable organizations, both public and private.

There can, however, be little doubt that another set of economic and social changes have made it increasingly difficult for the individual to maintain a minimum living standard for his family. Competition for jobs in contemporary industrial life tends to become keener, and the demands of employers more exacting. This means that the wage earner who is handicapped by some chronic ailment, a wooden leg, slight deafness, or loss of an eye or a finger, finds himself less able to support his family now than formerly. Moreover, as industry gathers more speed and selectivity, the difficulty of getting another job after a period of unemployment becomes more exaggerated. This situation is certainly one of the reasons accounting for the increase of unemployability among the 100 Neediest Cases.

Underlying the whole social and eco-

nomic change, as it is reflected in the 100 Neediest Cases, is a change in philosophical outlook. We used to expect the individual to sustain his family; only when death prevented him from doing so, were we willing to step in. Now we believe in stepping in sooner, because we feel that it is society's duty to safeguard the individual's right to a minimum living standard.

It is, of course, possible that the next few years will show a swing in the opposite direction. In fact, a recent paper given at the Ohio State Welfare Conference, to be published in *The Family*, suggests that the current philosophy of life has sometimes "led us to center too exclusively on a single member of a family, to think too exclusively of what he wants, without seeing clearly enough how that affects other members of the family." At any rate, important changes in the patterns of destitution are to be expected. Will they continue to emphasize individual needs? Or will the basic trend change to reflect different techniques in social work, altered social and economic conditions, and new horizons for the family?

#### ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOUTHWESTERN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

The Southwestern Sociological Society held its annual meeting at Dallas, Texas, April 11 and 12, in conjunction with the meetings of the various other units of the Southwestern Social Science Association. All meetings were well attended, and the states of Arkansas, Colorado, Kansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Texas were represented. General topics discussed in the three half-day sessions were, Teaching Sociology in a Changing Culture, Social Standards in a Changing Society, and Current Social Research. Twelve prepared papers or research reports were presented and discussed.

The Society elected the following persons to offices for the year 1941-1942: William H. Sewell, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, President; Albert E. Croft, University of Wichita, Vice President; J. K. Johnson, East Texas State Teachers College, Secretary-Treasurer; O. D. Duncan, Oklahoma A and M College, Associate Editor of the Southwestern Social Science Quarterly; Martie L. Wooten, Texas State College for Women, Executive Committee; and, Rex D. Hopper, University of Texas, Executive Committee. Carl M. Rosenquist, University of Texas, was reelected Editor in Chief of the Quarterly and O. D. Duncan was elected to the First Vice Presidency of the Association.

## THE COMMUNITY AND NEIGHBORHOOD

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress, in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

## THE COLLEGE IN RELATION TO COMMUNITY ANALYSIS AND DEVELOPMENT\*

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IT IS not a new thing for an institution of higher learning consciously to attempt to become a force in its community. Large universities direct their program so that their influence may be national or regional in scope. Usually state universities have service to their state as a primary purpose. The smaller privately supported colleges have seldom given attention to research and planning for a particular area. True they usually draw a majority of their students from the surrounding towns and countryside, put them through the so-called educational process, and send many back to their home communities. To this extent the small college serves as a force in its environs. However, little else of a more direct and tangible nature has been contributed. The *telic* function of community planning has not been generally accepted by the colleges.

It is not the purpose of the writer to argue this controversial point which more properly belongs in the philosophy of education. However, the sociologist may well ponder its implications for the study of the community and community organi-

zation. When a college adopts analysis and development of the surrounding community as one of its functions, the sociologist has a social laboratory to enrich his teaching, a laboratory not merely for theoretical research but for analysis which can be immediately tested for its soundness and effectiveness in resultant social action, a laboratory in which social action itself can be studied with variables controlled in so far as this is possible in social research.<sup>1</sup>

Few attempts by a college to become a force in its community have been as seriously undertaken as that by Furman University through the Greenville County Council for Community Development. Aided by a five-year grant from the General Education Board, the college and other local institutions have cooperated in an effort to make the county of 130,000 population a better place in which to live. The council is composed of some

<sup>1</sup> Theoretical research leading more indirectly to social action is recognized by the writer as of primary importance in sociology. Emphasis in this paper, however, is placed upon fact finding with social action immediately in view. Justification for this rests upon the assumption that the more fundamental, theoretical research cannot usually be a function of the small college due to lack of faculty personnel, library facilities, and research funds.

\* Read before the Sixth Annual Meeting of the Southern Sociological Society in Atlanta, Georgia, April 4, 1941.

200 interested, representative citizens, while a lay executive committee of nine serves as the policy-making body.

The project is under the direction of a staff of varied make-up. The executive secretary, together with a Negro educator as coordinator of Negro work, an expert in elementary education, and a secretary are on the council payroll. Several staff members have been paid jointly by the council and the college. Others are on the regular college staff but have lighter teaching loads with part time devoted to the community development program. Still other staff members hold positions of leadership in various community agencies such as the Home Demonstration Agent, the County Librarian, the County Superintendent of Education, the Executive Secretary of the Girl Scouts, and others. At one time or another, specialists have been assigned to the staff by the Work Projects Administration, the National Park Service, and the State Board of Health. Offices for staff members are provided by the college in a building on the campus.

The extent to which the council program may be carried on after the expiration of the five-year grant is yet to be determined. This will depend in large part upon how worthwhile the program is felt to be by the college, the city and county governmental units, and other community institutions. As the fifth year draws to an end, it may be well to evaluate the project from the point of view of the college. What has been accomplished in the county? What can be said about the philosophy and methods employed? What have been the results as far as the college is concerned?

#### ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE COUNCIL PROGRAM

Staff members are the first to admit that there have been many failures in the council program. For instance, the county's 15,000 textile workers and their families

have been little affected. True, through the progressive work of the Parker District schools, some semblance of democratic social action for community improvement has appeared, but the paternalistic relationship of management to "my workers" generally maintains. There has been little contact with organized labor, although labor officials have indicated willingness to cooperate. Furthermore, some projects launched by the council program have been short-lived or have failed outright. Space prohibits an exhaustive treatment either of failures or successes.<sup>2</sup> Some of the more notable accomplishments will be sketched briefly to indicate the nature and scope of the work.

There has been considerable activity in the field of education. Through the council and its contacts with national educational foundations, the Parker District schools, already nationally recognized, have further developed a progressive education program and the Greenville City schools have concentrated on a thorough evaluation and reorientation of their work. Improvement of the rural schools of the county has been outstanding and is now under the guidance of a rural school supervisor. Interest in adult education, broadly conceived, has been developed through forums, discussion groups, and night classes. Enrollment in night classes has ranged from 1400 in the first center held in the city down to 75 in a center held in one of the small rural communities. A committee on Youth and Marriage has sponsored several types of informal education for young people.

The council program has been directly responsible for two new developments in higher education. Teachers College of Columbia University now holds regularly

<sup>2</sup> A volume edited by Dr. Edmund de S. Brunner is in preparation in which the entire council program will be described and evaluated.



each summer a field course in "Southern Conditions" which has headquarters on the Furman campus and focuses its study on the work of the council.<sup>3</sup> The second project is a Southeastern Workshop in Community Development held in the summer of 1941. Here fifty leaders in community work were able to study and evaluate the work of the council, and in this way extend the influence of the program throughout the region.

In the field of social welfare, a Council of Social Agencies has been formed, coordinating for the first time the work of some 27 social agencies in the city. A Council of Church Women and a Social Service Exchange represent efforts growing out of the council program to improve social welfare work. Similarly the establishment of the Family Welfare Society, a Legal Aid Clinic, and a notable increase in the number of professionally trained social workers can be attributed directly to the work of the staff specialist in this field.

Work in the field of recreation has been confined in the main to rural areas where community recreation nights have been developed and where dramatic clubs and youth recreation groups have been formed. The staff specialist in recreation has assisted many communities and groups in planning and supervising recreation programs of various sorts.

Accomplishments making for better health include a resident nursing service demonstration project in three communities and a sanitation program in several communities. Work in health education has been carried on in a number of places. One rural community which had found it difficult and expensive to obtain the serv-

ices of medical practitioners has secured a resident physician through a cooperative medical plan. The establishment of a county-wide cooperative hospitalization association can be partially attributed to the work of the council program in this field.

In government there have been few direct accomplishments, due in part to the policy of the council to keep out of politics and also to particular situations existing in the city and county government. The formation of a Good Government Association had a marked effect on the quality of successful political candidates. Information was widely distributed concerning where the tax dollar comes from and where it goes. Studies were made on the basis of which zoning and traffic ordinances were put into effect. Difficult administrative problems concerning city-county governmental relationships were clarified.

In the field of economics, attention has been confined largely to rural communities. A live-at-home movement, initiated by the council and sponsored jointly with various agricultural agencies, has enrolled one-third of the county's farm families and has been adopted by Agricultural Extension as a state-wide program. Encouragement of cooperatives and credit unions has had tangible results. The Southeastern Cooperative Educational Association has grown out of a meeting sponsored by the council. General education work concerning the economic problems of the region and the county has been carried out.

This brief recording of some of the accomplishments of the council program has been given to indicate the scope of the work. As was indicated above, it is not the purpose of this paper to evaluate these achievements or the failures which were experienced. However, a brief discussion of the philosophy underlying the experi-

<sup>3</sup> For description and evaluation of this field course, see the writer's article, "Sociological Analysis Through Field Course Procedure", *Social Forces*, 19 (March, 1941), pp. 356-365.

ment and some consideration of the methods employed may aid in its understanding.

#### PHILOSOPHY AND METHODS OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

A primary objective of this experiment in community development was to find an answer to this question: Will people give sufficient time to studying and planning the solution of their own problems, or must the trend toward shifting this responsibility to the state and national capitals be continued? Will the *Gemeinschaft* (local) elements in the community be able to hold their own against the *Gesellschaft* (cosmopolitan) elements, as Zimmerman would put it?<sup>4</sup> In the answer to this question lies one clue as to whether the vitality of the local community can be retained, perhaps even whether American democracy can stand. The philosophy underlying the entire council program has been aptly stated by Lindeman:

The community movement represents an attempt on the part of the people who live in a small, compact, local group to assume their own responsibilities and to guide their own destinies. . . . In its organized form it is a demonstration of democracy in action.<sup>5</sup>

In the rural field, Sanderson and Polson express the idea as follows:

It is this ability of the rural community to exercise a definite social control through its own community pattern of behavior and to form a public opinion through interchange of views of its different elements which makes the development of the rural community of peculiar value for the preservation of true democracy in modern society.<sup>6</sup>

The work of the council, then, may be viewed as an experiment in democracy.

<sup>4</sup> Carle C. Zimmerman, *The Changing Community*, chap. 25.

<sup>5</sup> E. C. Lindeman, *The Community*, p. 58.

<sup>6</sup> Dwight Sanderson and Robert A. Polson, *Rural Community Organization*, p. 412.

The democratic process involves several steps. First, a need or problem is felt by a group of people. According to Zimmerman, ". . . the fundamental reality back of the community is the *need* and these human needs are 'first causes.'"<sup>7</sup> Following the recognition of a need comes fact finding. What are all the relevant facts in the situation? Here it is difficult to determine the place of the expert. In so far as fact finding by local citizens is satisfactory, it is to be desired. However, on many problems the assistance of the expert is required. In this regard, the position of Mary Follett is sound: "We want the information of expert or official, not to turn us into rubber stamps, but as the foundation for the social process."<sup>8</sup> The next step is analysis of the facts and a shared decision as to the best possible solution. Finally, social action leads to a testing of the solution. If it works, an advance in community development has been made; if it fails, re-analysis is undertaken and another solution tried.

The Council has used two approaches in trying out this democratic process. Early in the program county-wide committees were formed on certain phases of community life such as education, social welfare, economics, government, health, and recreation. These committees decided what were the most pressing problems in their particular area of community life, planned the necessary fact finding, decided upon solutions, and attempted to obtain social action to put the solutions into practice. Only the education and social welfare committees functioned with much success. The reasons were varied but it was decided that the process should be pushed even further back to the local rural community. Discussion of needs and solu-

<sup>7</sup> Carle C. Zimmerman, *op. cit.*, pp. 156, 157.

<sup>8</sup> Mary P. Follett, *Creative Experience*, p. 205.

tions of problems in rural communities almost invariably led to the formation of a rural community council. A few of these miniatures of the larger county-wide council can now point to many tangible results of the democratic process. No comparable approach to urban problems on a neighborhood basis has been worked out, although it has been given consideration.

At the beginning of the program the county-wide committees attempted to work with problems of Negro and white alike, while a special interracial committee gave consideration to particular problems of Negroes. This approach gave way later to a separation of the work on racial lines with a coordinator of Negro activities added to the staff. Under his direction efforts have been made to carry the democratic process back to local groups, at the same time recognizing the bi-racial character of the social organization of the region.

Obviously the council has had no program to "put over" on any community. There is no implication that projects found to be successful in this program would be desirable elsewhere. Communities have their own personality type, as Zimmerman has pointed out.<sup>9</sup> Problems must be recognized by the people and solutions must come out of the local community. This epitomizes the philosophy underlying the council work.

#### THE COLLEGE AND THE COUNCIL PROGRAM

As already indicated, Furman University has played an important part in the work of the Greenville County Council for Community Development. Headquarters for the council have been on the campus and perhaps a greater part, although by no means all, of the work has been under the

guidance of staff members who were also teaching academic courses in the college. Furman necessarily has felt many effects of the council program.

Prior to the establishment of the council, Furman may be said to have been quite traditional in its objectives, curriculum, and teaching methods. Although there was some attention given to vocational preparation, the main objective was to give the student a general cultural education. Today this is still true to a large extent. Certainly the small college should not endeavor to specialize in training for the professions. But there is this difference: Today at least a minority of the faculty are concerned that the students study and have experiences in fields which will serve to prepare them better to take a place of democratic leadership in their communities. The relation of the college to the work of the Council is entirely responsible for this new emphasis. Of course, it will be maintained that this has always been the concern of the college, but one looks in vain for courses or points of view that will bear out this claim in any measurable degree.

Furman draws 63 percent of its student body from communities in upper South Carolina with much the same culture and problems as are found in Greenville County; in fact 41 percent of the students reside within the county itself.<sup>10</sup> A large proportion will spend the rest of their lives in this general area. Yet, heretofore, the college had done little to acquaint students with its culture, its problems, and possible means of solution.

Departments in the college which have been most closely related to the program

<sup>10</sup> These figures exclude special students or non-resident music students, most of whom live in Greenville County but are not affected by the council program.

<sup>9</sup> Carle C. Zimmerman, *op. cit.*, *passim*.



are Education, Sociology, Political Science, and Dramatics. Creation of the departments of Political Science and Dramatics was a direct outgrowth of the council project. New courses offered in Education and Sociology include problems in community development, group leadership, adult education, community organization, public welfare, rural sociology, and methods of social research. Thus, it is evident that the college curriculum has been broadened and now includes many more topics closely related to the probable experience of students after graduation.

A considerable portion of the teaching materials for these and other courses has come from the council program. Source materials have been drawn from local fact finding studies on such topics as Negro urban housing, Negro education, Negro health, dietary habits of rural school children, interests of older rural youth, a rural community-centered school, the origin and development of a rural community council, the relation between selected home factors and educational achievement among open-country and village children, the condition of rural school buildings, the problem of teacher turn-over, pupil retardation, characteristics of youth, the needs of a rural community, tabulation of vital statistics, general population characteristics, expenditures of welfare agencies, history of social agencies, and so on. Furthermore, projects of the council may be studied in action and reasons ascertained for their success or failure. Obviously here is a wealth of material suitable for use in various courses, none of which was available before the council work began. Here are data concerning situations in which many of the students have a vital interest and to which many will return as teachers, business men, ministers, housewives—in any case, citizens.

Teaching methods in some of the courses most closely connected with the work of the Council have been enlivened. It is difficult to show the importance of group discussion or fact finding in rural community organization without giving students practice in these skills. So discussion, to some extent, has replaced the lecture method in teaching, and fact finding in the community supplements the textbook. Rather than merely talk in the classroom about a rural community council, there is opportunity for students to attend meetings of such a council and quiz those who have been leaders in the project. In this way they learn more realistically about the steps in the democratic process. Rather than merely discuss how to direct a play, there is an opportunity to have full responsibility for putting on a play in a rural community with local residents making up the cast.

Rather than have the functions and procedures of a social agency explained in the classroom, students have the opportunity of working a specified number of hours each month under capable supervision in the office of a social agency, in this way learning the facts first-hand. Students may be found making studies on a great variety of community situations, leading forum discussions in rural communities, participating in panels at rural community meetings, leading groups in the community as required laboratory experience in the course in group leadership, serving as assistant parole officer for a delinquent boy, supervising recreation, assuming positions of leadership in their home communities, and the like. Admittedly it is possible to use many of these teaching methods in any college, but the point here is that they have been adopted and made more effective at Furman through the stimulation of active interest on the part

of the college in developing the surrounding community. The most significant effect on teaching has been that students are given a chance to get out into the social laboratory now recognized to exist in the city and county.

In connection with the council program, Furman has a small graduate department offering work leading to the master's degree. Majors are limited to Education and Sociology. Most of the courses carrying graduate credit are related closely to the work of the council. In fact, the council is the sole justification for the graduate program. Results over the past five years indicate this justification to be sound. Most of the theses have been on community problems and many have led to definite steps in community development. In several instances school superintendents and principals have developed into outstanding leaders and can now point to admirable concrete accomplishments in their communities.

It should not be concluded that the number of undergraduate students who have actually participated in council projects is large. As has already been pointed out, only a few departments of the college have been affected. However, it is safe to say that a considerable proportion of recent graduates are familiar with the program and have been influenced by it in one way or another.

#### CONCLUSIONS

A number of conclusions may be drawn from the experience of Furman University in its cooperative relationship with the Greenville County Council for Community Development.

1. The small college can serve as a stimulating force in community analysis and development. Even without outside funds, much can be accomplished, although the program would necessarily be of a limited nature.
2. The college must make some investment in the effort. This should probably be in the form of office space, travel allowance, and lightened teaching loads.
3. Local financial support from various sources should be developed as the work proceeds.
4. Principles of the democratic process should be followed in all community development efforts.
5. Materials compiled through such a program are valuable in vitalizing teaching in the social sciences.
6. In so far as possible, opportunities should be provided students to participate in various phases of the community development process rather than merely to study reports of the work. Much still remains to be done in working out techniques for making this sort of experience most conducive to real learning.
7. Of special significance in light of the present emphasis upon the concept of democracy is the probability that students will leave college more eager and better able to assume their share of the responsibilities which democracy places on the local community.

It is to be hoped that other colleges will profit from Furman's experience to the advantage both of their environs and their academic program.

#### MID-WEST SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

The Mid-West Sociological Society held its annual meeting April 17 to 19, with the following members elected to office: President—Carroll D. Clark, Kansas; First Vice President—C. E. Lively, Missouri; Second Vice President, Lowry Nelson, Minnesota; Secretary-Treasurer—J. Howell Atwood, Illinois; Members of the Executive Committee—Laurence H. Brown, Nebraska; John Saathoff, North Dakota; John Useem, South Dakota; Margaret Reuss, Wisconsin; Representative on the Executive Committee of the American Sociological Society—J. O. Hertzler, Nebraska.

## MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

Contributions to this Department will include original articles, reports of conferences, special investigations and research, and programs relating to marriage and the family. It is edited by Ernest R. Groves of the University of North Carolina, who would like to receive reports and copies of any material relating to the family and marriage.

### PARENTS AS THE MAKERS OF SOCIAL DEVIATES

MERL E. BONNEY

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**H**ENRY is a delinquent, John is an alcoholic, George is a homosexual, Jack is a radical, and Joe committed suicide. Is there anything these individuals have in common which played an important role in causing them to deviate from social norms? At first glance it might seem that such diverse forms of behavior could have no relation to each other. They do, however, have some very significant common factors in their childhood backgrounds. The formula runs about as follows: They have experienced some form of rejection by one or both of their parents or they have had excessive emotional ties with one of the parents—usually the mother, while at the same time lacking even normal relationships with the other parent. This rejection and this abnormal pulling of the child toward one side of the parental axis results in various forms of personality distortion such as a sense of inferiority, a deep-seated desire for revenge, an immature and confused love life, and an expectation of greater pleasure without effort or responsibility than the world affords. It is the purpose of this article to show, not by opinions but by the evidence from psychological research, that it is parents who are the primary makers of social deviates.

#### I

Henry is our delinquent. He is only thirteen, but he has been stealing for four years or more. He has served a term in the State Industrial School for Boys. He naturally has a bad reputation in his neighborhood and in his school. The respectable citizens who know Henry have various views as to why he has gotten into all his troubles. Bad companions, pulp magazines, gangster movies, lack of church influence, poverty, natural meanness. These are the opinions given for Henry's bad start in life. But what are the facts from research on the origins of antisocial conduct?

One of the most significant of recent studies on delinquency is that reported by Healy and Bronner in *New Light on Delinquency and Its Treatment* in which is given the results of a three year follow-up study of 105 delinquents each of whom had a brother or a sister who was not a delinquent. Since it is well known that not all the children are delinquent who grow up in a bad neighborhood, or who have any of the other influences which the respectable citizens put down as the cause of boys going wrong, it is evident that these conditions in themselves cannot be said to be the real causes of antisocial conduct.



Rather we must look for more critical factors. Healy and Bronner found the most decisive factor to be a child's psychological relationships with his parents. Stated briefly it was found that 91 percent of the delinquents were seriously disturbed by some form of inner emotional stress arising in some cases from feelings of being rejected and unloved by their parents, in other cases from a sense of weakness due to pampering and overprotection, and in still other cases from serious thwarting in self-expression resulting in feelings of inferiority. Only 13 percent of the 105 non-delinquent brothers and sisters were characterized by such emotional disturbances.

What happens to a child when his parents discriminate against him in favor of another brother or sister, or convey the impression that they wish he had not been born, or punish him frequently and severely, or seriously neglect him and otherwise fail to show normal affection? Generally he feels insecure and often develops a deep seated hostility toward the whole world of adults. One of his strongest impulses is to get away from his home. He seeks other associations where his desires for social acceptance and recognition can be satisfied. All too often the only group he can find is the delinquent gang made up of other boys who have fled their homes for reasons similar to his own. Once in the gang he must steal and engage in other forms of attacks on society to gain approval. This is how Henry fell into the toils of the law. Also, this is why so many of the respectable citizens say that Henry's troubles were due to bad companions. But they fail to realize that the bad companions would have had no appeal for Henry except that they formed a group which met a strong emotional need in his life—a need which was not being met by home, church or school.

Also, Henry's delinquencies served as a

release for a more unconscious emotional need—his desire (never clearly recognized for what it is) to even up the score between himself and society. This is his sense of hostility. Having been rejected and coerced by his parents, who represent society to him, he has in his very nature the drive to rebellion and attack. So come his acts of aggression such as stealing, destruction of property, excessive disobedience, sexual immorality, and even murder. Here we find the delinquent or adult criminal who performs acts of daring and ruthlessness—incurring risks far out of proportion to the gain involved. The general public usually regards such individuals as very tough and hard-boiled. As a matter of fact, their so-called "toughness" is only an external front to compensate for a soft center—an inner weakness due to deep psychological wounds inflicted by their parents. William Healy cites many cases in his numerous studies of delinquents to prove this point—cases of boys who, after suffering some serious emotional defeat, have led others into criminal attacks on society saying of themselves, "I wasn't afraid to tackle anything then."

One meek-appearing little boy who had engaged in a series of dare-devil delinquencies after becoming a member of a gang was asked to give an explanation of his conduct. He replied, "They thought I was no good so I went out to show a cock-eyed world that I was a regular guy." Of course, not all sissies become delinquents, but this type of boy often feels an irresistible drive toward aggressive acts in an exaggerated effort to win the admiration of other boys. In some cases they become the most ruthless of criminals. J. Edgar Hoover, chief of the G. Men, has often emphasized that our most notorious outlaws usually turn out to be weaklings and cowards when captured. Of Machine Gun Kelly, Mr. Hoover states in one of his

accounts that this man who stood as a symbol of brutal power and cunning to most Americans was, as a matter of fact, a craven, blundering blowhard, who better deserved the vaudeville name of "Pop Gun" Kelly.

The story of girl delinquents is exactly the same as that of boy delinquents, except that overprotection is much less apt to motivate a girl to misconduct than it is a boy. Therefore, some form of parental rejection or domination is nearly always in the background of girl delinquents. Studies of hundreds of cases of girls who have run away from their homes show that the type of home involved varies all the way from extreme poverty to riches but that they all have one thing in common: bad psychological relationships between the parents and the runaway daughters. The girl is nagged and criticized but seldom or never praised; she is forced to turn over the money she earns to her parents; she is not allowed to have dates; she is forbidden to dance; she is brow-beaten into a state of persistent inferiority; no effort is made to enable her to have attractive clothes; too high standards are insisted upon in school or in some particular line of endeavor which the parents have selected for her. Sometimes the girl is neglected while her mother spends her time in club and church work. The girl effectively registers her protest against her rejection by running away. Many parents need to relearn that no one, least of all a child, lives by bread alone, but also by the meeting of emotional needs—the greatest of which is love. x

Studies of sexually delinquent girls have shown beyond doubt that they are suffering primarily from a deep-seated hunger in their affectional lives. They, too, come from homes of all degrees of financial stability. Furthermore it has not been found that amount of education or church attend-

ance makes much difference. The thing that really matters is the amount of intimate, understanding relationships with their parents. This means love that is not only felt but is also demonstrated in words and actions. The kind of distant, stern atmosphere prevailing in many homes, particularly on the part of the fathers, drives an adolescent girl into the arms of the first boy or man who tells her the things she has always wanted to hear. One of the frequent statements of so-called "fallen" girls when questioned about why they engaged in such behavior is: "Nobody was ever so loving to me before."

This brief statement of the psychological roots of misconduct is not meant to cover all cases. Admittedly there are other factors in the total picture, but the findings of extensive studies leave little doubt but that bad parent-child relationships of the nature described above constitute the most important single motivation to delinquency.

## II

John is our alcoholic. How did he get that way? His townspeople have many typical answers. There was drinking in his home; he drank to be sociable; he got into the wrong crowd in the university; his wife drove him to drink; he needed an escape from his difficulties. All these and similar explanations are plausible and simple enough for the average citizen to understand. They are, however, superficial as a few questions will reveal. Why is it that most people who have drinking in their homes, or who drink to be sociable, do not become chronic alcoholics? Why did he get into the wrong crowd in college, and once in—why did he stay there? What kind of relations did he have with his wife which caused her to react so violently against him? Why was he in

such great need of an escape from difficulties?

These questions have been answered by numerous investigations into the psychological backgrounds of alcoholics. Typical of these investigations are those recently conducted by Walter R. Miles<sup>1</sup> of the Yale University School of Medicine and Mary P. Wittman<sup>2</sup> of the Elgin, Illinois State Hospital. The results of these studies agree with other similar investigations in their finding that the origin of chronic alcoholism is to be found in certain factors in childhood development. Chief among these factors is that the parents of alcoholics are typically characterized by a doting, over-protecting mother and a stern, autocratic father.

In the Elgin State Hospital one hundred male patients with a diagnosis of chronic alcoholism were compared with an equal number of nonalcoholic men of similar age, education, and nationality. One of the marked contrasts in the developmental history of these two groups was the greater tendency of the alcoholics to idolize their mothers and to sacrifice their own wishes and plans for hers. The alcoholics showed a greater tendency than did the controls to characterize their mothers as "dominating." The kind of domination characteristic of these mothers usually goes under the title of "love" or "mother knows best." It is, as a matter of fact, the very opposite of love, namely, selfishness. But it is usually not recognized as such—least of all by the mother and child involved. It is a very subtle and powerful form of coercion because it forces the child into a passive role and develops submissive attitudes. This is why the alcoholic idolizes his mother. He clings to her for emotional support and leans upon her when he

should be learning to stand on his own two feet. He was made this way when he was too young and too weak to be able to resist, or even to know that he should resist the domination of his personality.

What about the alcoholics' relationships with their fathers? On many points they and their controls in the Elgin, Illinois study were quite similar, but in two respects there were significant differences. The alcoholics on the whole stated that their fathers had a tendency to domineer in their insistence upon obedience and that they were afraid of their fathers. The control subjects on the other hand indicated no such fear and were allowed to differ with their fathers on important matters.

Another interesting factor in the home background was the finding that the average age at which the controls left home was 18.8 years as compared to 23 years for the alcoholics. In fact, a few of the latter were still living at home at the time the study was made. A much larger number of the alcoholics (27 percent) were listed as "dependent" upon parents or relatives for support. The well known dependence of many drunkards upon others for support is usually assumed to be due to the fact that they are drunkards. Although this is partly true, a more basic truth is that they are drunkards because they are dependents. They have been made dependents by a dominating mother or father who has robbed them of the stamina necessary for adult living.

The alcoholics' sense of dependence is also shown by their greater need for religion than was shown by the controls. Whereas 14 percent of the latter stated that they had no feeling of need for religious security, not a one of the alcoholics made this response. On every point bearing on religion the alcoholics showed their typi-

<sup>1</sup> *Mental Hygiene*, XXI, Oct., 1937, 529-544

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XXXIV, July, 1939, 361-377



cal tendency to find in religious authority a substitute or a counterpart of the parental authority upon which they have been forced to lean throughout their development.

The study in the Elgin, Illinois hospital supported the frequent observation that alcoholics are characterized by an inadequate and diffuse love life. They have many brief love affairs but are unable to establish a deep and lasting affection for any one woman. Thus they are notoriously bad husbands. The capacity to fall in love with one of the opposite sex on a mature basis depends in large measure upon normal parental love either from one's true parents or an adequate parental substitute, such as foster parents, relatives, friends, or guardians. Lacking the kind of love which develops rather than frustrates emotional maturity the individual finds it impossible to give to another what he himself has never had.

It has often been stated that the excessive use of alcohol is a form of escape from life difficulties. This, however, leaves unanswered the question as to why they are the kind of individuals who need to escape. Psychological studies make it clear that the genesis of this need in most cases lies in the kind of dominating parental relationships described above. Either they suffer from the overprotection of a selfish mother love or they feel rejected. In the first instance they enter the threshold of manhood without the capacity for persistent effort because of having been placed in a favored position without effort, and in the second instance they feel a deep sense of emotional frustration and disappointment. In alcoholic intoxication the adult who has been overprotected not only finds a temporary protection of his ego from the realization of failure but is also able to attain the infantile omnipotence of his childhood. To the adult

who has been rejected by his parents alcohol brings three advantages—a temporary surcease of his psychic pain arising from his unforgettable disappointment, a method of revenge against those who have betrayed him, and a means of unconsciously promoting his own self-destruction which in the end will relieve him from the burden of life.

Although the John we have been discussing is an alcoholic, he could just as well have been a drug addict, for these social deviates have very much the same kind of childhood backgrounds and personality traits as the alcoholics. Studies have shown that they, too, are seeking relief from psychic pain resulting from the uneven battle of life. They, too, are suffering from serious feelings of inferiority. Lawrence Kolb of the Lexington, Kentucky narcotic hospital says the use of drugs is comparable to "compensations of little men who endeavor to lift themselves to greatness." The addict wishes to be more important and to attain more pleasure than ordinary living provides. These motivations arise from distorted parental attitudes and management. In a personal conversation with Dr. M. J. Pescor, Executive Officer of the federal narcotic institution at Fort Worth, Texas, I asked him what he considered to be the most typical childhood background of drug addicts and he replied immediately "mother fixations." This is especially true when there is a previous history of alcoholic indulgence. The narcotic victim, like his alcoholic brother, is heavily dependent upon parents and relatives throughout his adult life.

### III

George is our homosexual. The average citizen doesn't have so many ideas as to what is the matter with George because they don't talk so freely about his

form of deviation from social norms. Probably the most common view of both the general public and the homosexuals themselves is that they are born that way. Some would emphasize abnormalities of endocrine glands or the influence of body build on personality. These explanations have been investigated and the findings are conflicting and inconclusive. Regardless of what may eventually be decided in respect to the inherited basis of sexual inversion it is safe to say that psychological factors will always play an important role in producing such individuals.

Recent research on this phase of the problem has been published by L. M. Terman and Catherine Cox Miles in their *Sex and Personality*. This is an extensive study of the whole field of masculinity and femininity, one aspect of which was an investigation of the childhood backgrounds of 77 passive male homosexuals. (The passive type is composed of those who play the female role in a homosexual relationship.) A few of these individuals were in jails but most of them were in the general population and voluntarily submitted to questioning by friends who turned the data over to Terman and his associates. What was the most striking characteristic in the developmental history of these sexual deviates? As Terman puts it, it was a "Too demonstrative affection from an excessively emotional mother, especially in the case of a first, last, or only child combined with a father who is unsympathetic, autocratic, brutal, much away from home, or deceased." Other very prominent factors in their childhood backgrounds were: the parents wanted a girl and so treated the boy as if he were a girl; there was a lack of opportunity or encouragement to associate with boys; there was an overemphasis on neatness and niceness; there was sex segregation in youth; and finally, there was a lack of

vigilance against the child being seduced by older homosexual males.

It can readily be seen that nearly all of the points just mentioned come into the picture as a consequence of abnormal parent-child relationship. It is the same old story of a child being pulled heavily toward one side of the parental axis together with neglect or rejection from the other side. There is an over-idealization of the mother coupled with a lack of development of masculine traits. It is the father who is chiefly at fault in such families, because if he were adequate as a husband and father the boy would not be pulled abnormally to the mother. He is weak, dissolute, dominating, or too much concerned with his business to take a consistent and friendly interest in his son. He does not play "bear" with him on the floor in the evenings; he does not take him fishing or hunting; he does not show a warm personal interest in the boy's play life and school affairs; he frequently criticizes but seldom praises; he hasn't time to answer a child's questions; he cannot unbend and make a fool of himself on a family picnic; he has no charm for a boy because he has lost or has denied his childlike qualities. He may be a good father in many respects but he does not understand or fulfill his proper psychological role.

A child who is dominated by mother love and is unable to identify himself with his father (and fails to find a father substitute) simply does not have the masculinity in his nature necessary to match with or complement femininity in a woman. D. H. Lawrence, a product of this kind of childhood development, has one of his male characters in *Sons and Lovers* say to a woman, "I can only give friendship—it's all I'm capable of—it's a flaw in my makeup." Freud has pointed out that the man with a mother fixation is unable

to fuse his idealization of women with his sexual impulses. These two aspects of love are separated in his being. Consequently, he usually becomes a homosexual in attitude if not in overt behavior, or he has sexual relations only with a very low order of women including prostitutes. The latter adjustment is well represented in the great musical composer Brahms.

Although the above discussion has been confined entirely to a certain type of male homosexual (data are lacking on the active type), what evidence is available on the psychological origins of sexual inversion in females also points to parent-child relationships as the principal factor. The girl has come to reject the normal female role in life because her mother turned her against men; or sex relations were forced upon her at an early age causing disgust and emotional retreat; or she aspires to a masculine role in life because she sees her brothers favored over her; or finally she either over-idealizes or hates her father and generalizes upon these reactions such that in the first instance she cannot fuse her erotic impulses with her idealization and in the second instance she cannot bear the thought of physical intimacy with any man.

#### IV

Jack is our radical. How does he get into the company of delinquents, alcoholics, drug addicts, and homosexuals? Many people are sure that political radicals result from economic privations, socialistic or communistic teachings in the schools, reading Red propaganda, or listening to Un-American speeches. It would be foolish to say that these things play no part in the promotion of radicalism, but it would be superficial to assume that such factors are sufficient to explain why certain individuals in fairly

normal times adhere to the radical movement. These factors do not explain why it is that most people who suffer economic privations or who come into contact with various forms of radical propaganda do not become radicals. There are numerous reasons for this poor response, chief of which are: lack of leadership, fear of losing a job, or the possession of a favored position in our present economic system.

It is not my purpose to evaluate these things but only to emphasize parent-child relationships as a factor in causing some individuals to be particularly sensitive to radical appeals. For evidence on this point we turn to a psychological research conducted by Maurice Krout<sup>3</sup> of Chicago City Junior Colleges, and Ross Stagner of the University of Akron. They investigated the personality development of 54 members of the Young People's Socialist League and 12 members of the Young Communist League in Chicago by means of a questionnaire consisting of 213 items. The replies given by these radicals were contrasted with the answers given by a control group of 97 nonradical young people. On many points there were no significant differences between the two groups and on some points the radicals were found to be superior to the control subjects. In respect to parent-child relationships, however, the same kind of facts were found as reported above for other social deviates. There was a greater tendency for the male radicals to have fathers who were strict, who showed but little intimate concern for their sons, and who expressed relatively greater preference for a child of the opposite sex. These relationships caused the radicals to show a markedly less desire than the control subjects to be like their fathers. When a boy consciously avoids identification with

<sup>3</sup> *Sociometry*, II (January 1939), pp. 31-46.



his father it may be assumed that he feels rejected.

The girl radicals showed a tendency to be poorly identified with both mother and father. They reported fewer confidential relationships with their mothers and expressed less desire to be like their mothers than did the female control subjects. The fathers of the girl radicals are reported as being relatively more concerned with disciplining their daughters and of showing less affectionate regard for them than did the fathers of the non-radical girls. Both parents of the female radicals are reported as preferring a child of the opposite sex. These girls report a marked tendency in childhood to engage in foster-parent daydreams. This reveals their sense of insecurity.

The parental rejection of the young radicals is further shown by the predominate method of punishment used in their homes. There was a far greater tendency for their parents to use nagging, ridicule, reproach, and sarcasm than was true of the parents of the control subjects. Among the latter the predominate method of control was corporal punishment. Provided it isn't too severe, spanking or otherwise striking a child does not cause the psychological distance between parent and child that is created by ridicule and sarcasm. These result in feelings of inferiority, fears, and resentments which determine many basic reactions throughout life.

The love-life of both male and female radicals was similar to that of the alcoholics in that both sexes indicated a greater number of frustrated love affairs than did the controls, and both reported difficulty in expressing love for the opposite sex. This frustrated and confused love life, arising from distorted love relations with the parents, puts the individual in an emotional state which renders him

particularly susceptible to the need of identification with causes—one of which is radicalism.

Other points which show difficulties in the personality development of the young radicals were such items as their relatively poor interest in group games and athletic pursuits, their sense of social inferiority, and their frankly pessimistic attitude toward the business of living. On the whole they rejected definitions of life as an "opportunity for happiness and enjoyment" or as an "opportunity to reveal one's true worth and ability." These negative life views reflect the young peoples' relations with their parents. It has often been pointed out by psychologists that a person's attitude toward the world is largely a mirror of his reactions to his parents. It is quite probable that an individual's degree of pessimism or optimism is more definitely related to his parent-child relationships than to any other combination of factors that come to bear on his philosophy of life.

It is not my intention to imply that all radicals have had an unhappy childhood nor that they are of neurotic dispositions. Instead it is my purpose to point out that persons who have suffered some form of rejection on the part of one or both of their parents are particularly sensitive to radical appeals. Identification with an organization devoted to attacks on our major social structure is satisfying because it offers them opportunities to be aggressive against that society which in its primary representation—the home—has caused them to suffer deep psychological wounds. They, like Emma Goldman, who was rejected by her parents, have suffered years of resentment and frustration. They are looking for something to hate, something to destroy—and, although they may not accomplish much toward their ultimate objective, there is

considerable emotional release in identification with a movement devoted to the promotion of powerful antagonisms and aimed at certain forms of social destruction. It need hardly be added that when a person with this type of motivation becomes a leader in the radical movement he is as ruthless and extreme in the prosecution of his ends as are those individuals previously mentioned who enter upon a career of crime for similar emotional reasons. Then society has another Hitler on its hands.

## V

Joe committed suicide. He must have been insane to do such a thing say his neighbors. Nobody but a crazy man would kill himself. Others say that he committed suicide because he lost his job. Still others say that he was despondent over his wife's leaving him the year before. These, however, are superficial observations because of all the men who lose their jobs or their wives only a very few commit suicide. What motivations do these few have which cause them to react so differently from the others? As to the view that Joe was insane when he took his life there are two answers: First, it is known that only a small percentage of those who commit suicide are actually insane; and, in the second place, even if Joe had been mentally sick his act would still need to be explained. The actions of a crazy person have definite motivations no less than those of normal individuals.

When studies are made of the development of persons who have taken their lives, as well as those who have tried and failed, it is clear that most of them have a childhood background very similar to that found for delinquents, alcoholics, homosexuals, and radicals. Some of them have had such overprotective parents that they have come to expect a favored

position in life without much effort. They want what they want when they want it. Their threshold for frustration is low. A case of this type was that of a young man in Dallas, Texas, last year who killed himself by driving his car at eighty miles an hour into a concrete pier of a railroad bridge passing over a highway. First, however, he had left a note with a girl friend telling her that if he did not come back in ten minutes to telephone a certain garage requesting a wrecker to be sent to the place where he planned to take his life. When the garage employees arrived he shouted: "If you want to see something, just follow me." He had also called the sheriff's office asking if they had heard of a wreck out on this particular highway. When the negative answer was received, the young man said, "Well, you'll hear of one pretty soon." Thus the pampered child who couldn't stand frustration assured himself of an audience for his last big tantrum.

The most comprehensive treatment of the subject of suicide that has come to the writer's attention is Karl Menninger's *Man Against Himself* (1940). Throughout this volume many cases are cited of patients in psychiatric clinics involving all the different forms of man's self-destructive behavior including alcoholism, martyrdom, and asceticism. Through these case studies runs with almost monotonous regularity the theme of the patients' bad psychological relationships with their parents. As Menninger points out every person who commits suicide begins to do so long before he takes in hand the actual weapons of self-destruction. Whether he chooses alcohol, functional illness, poison, or a gun,—he began to move toward this end while still in early childhood (even in the cradle) when he was acquiring those basic reactions of guilt, rejection, hatred,

or weakness which eventually weight life with negative values.

Occasionally an item is found in the newspaper about a school boy who has taken his life and has left a note saying he did this because his father criticized him for low grades on his report card. Like many other reasons given for suicide this one is obviously too superficial to be considered the main thing. Out of all the boys who displease their parents with their school records why did this particular boy react so violently? The explanation is that this boy has always been confused in respect to his affectional relationships with his father. At times he admires and loves his father because his father seems to love him. The boy sets up his father as an ideal, he wants to be like him, he carries an image of him in the innermost recesses of his personality. But at other times the father's relations with his son are characterized by indifference, neglect, ridicule, and condemnation. The child responds in kind. He develops attitudes of resentment, bitterness, hatred, and the desire to punish. This fluctuation between love and hate goes on for a number of years. Finally the aggressive tendencies become the stronger of the two. The incident about the report card tips the scales. The boy commits suicide in order to kill the introjected image of the father within himself and to punish the father for his rejection. Sometimes in such circumstances the boy would kill the father rather than himself, but this would be harder for the boy to accomplish and furthermore would be much more severely against his conscience. Thus, under circumstances just described, regardless of the age of the subject, suicide is a much more likely act than murder.

Various combinations of the pampered and rejected child are found in those cases

in which suicide is committed when a position is lost, financial reverses accumulate, or a love affair collapses. The individual involved lacks the stamina or the positive grip on life necessary to hang on when all seems lost. He cannot reorganize his life around new goals or new love objects. Although a biological weakness for standing stress may be admitted in some cases of suicide, this should not distract attention from the importance of psychological factors—principally the training of children in meeting their problems with their own resources rather than leaning on adults and the equally essential need of strong and balanced parental love.

The emphasis which has now been given to parent-child relationships in producing social deviates should have wide implications for all those interested in moral or character education. In these areas there are many conflicting conceptions as to what factors are most important in bringing about desired results. There are those who emphasize religious education and moral lessons in school. Some are certain that the way to strong character is the development of will power through self-denial by doing hard and distasteful things just because they are unpleasant. Still others insist upon other factors such as plenty of whippings, or the right kind of reading material, or adequate protection against what they consider to be the evils of the world. It is not my purpose to evaluate these various conceptions but simply to press home the point—proven by psychological studies of social deviates—that an individual's strength of character, his optimism and socially constructive attitudes, his tenacity and courage in meeting those major life problems of winning friends, establishing occupational



competence, and developing mature behavior with the opposite sex bear a remarkably close relationship to the extent he was overprotected or rejected by his parents. It is normal love behavior from

both sides of the parental axis in millions of family circles which eventually results in men and women who are able to meet the problems of life with confidence and courage.

## THE PROBLEM OF TEACHING A COURSE ON THE FAMILY

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SOCIAL FORCES has made a contribution to teaching in this field insofar as on various occasions it has published research studies<sup>1</sup> and bibliographies<sup>2</sup> on general and specific aspects of marriage and family relations. However, there has been relatively little discussion on syllabi, even though need of emphasis upon content has been indicated by the ambiguity and variety of approach in this sociological area.

In presenting a course of this type for the first time the potential choices as to subject matter and method are apt to be confusing. Shall this be a course in social evolution or history of family types as traditionally was the case? How shall one choose as between a biological, psychological, psychiatric, or statistical orientation? On the functional level of social problems, should exclusive concern be shown to social pathology, to literature on marriage selection and guidance, or child welfare? These seem a fair sample of the dilemmas that present themselves after a random consideration of the recent texts and general monographs in the field.

<sup>1</sup> Most recently cf. Howard Y. McClusky and Alvin Zander, "Residential Proximity and Marriage," *Social Forces*, 19, 1, pp. 79-81.

<sup>2</sup> Ernest R. Groves, "The Field of Marriage and The Family—A Bibliography," *Social Forces*, 19, 2, pp. 236-243.

It is the basic thesis of this paper that the confusion can usually be resolved by surveying the backgrounds and inferring the interests and needs of the particular students involved. Therefore, within certain limits, teaching emphasis will vary according to type of community, age, occupation, culture background, and marital status of the students. The body of this paper will describe how circumstances have operated to shape the author's course at Brooklyn College.

"The Family" was introduced in the Spring of 1940 to an Evening Session group on an elective basis and is being repeated this semester. As a result of informal investigation the group was found to show the following combination of characteristics that make it somewhat unique in relation to the average college student: urban; lower middle class; both sexes about equally represented; primarily second generation immigrant stock; about forty in number, five or six of whom were married; most employed in clerical or industrial pursuits during the day, and a few seeking employment. The median age was twenty-two.

On the academic level, it was observed that nearly all were seniors and had fairly extensive backgrounds in the social sciences, including courses in anthropology,

general social and abnormal psychology. Their occupational status made it difficult for them to do very much reading or library work, but this was to some extent counterbalanced by the fact that they were older, more mature in attitude and social experience than other students.

From an analysis of these and related factors, supplemented by discussions with individual students, a syllabus was designed that would gratify their special needs as well as contribute to their educational perspective.

This syllabus, with parenthetical explanations wherever necessary, follows:

On the basis of a sixteen weeks' semester, topics were chosen and time was apportioned.

1. *Introduction*—Socio-cultural approach explained; differences of family type; theories (evolutionary and functional) of family change; the family in primitive and historic societies (particular attention paid to tracing western monogamistic, patriarchal heritage). *Four weeks*

2. *The Contemporary American Family*—(a) Historical antecedents—Colonial Family—Changing pattern correlated with change from rural to urban society. *One Week.* (b) Distinct family types and their functional significance, migratory, isolated, ethnic groups. *Two Weeks.* (c) Problems of marriage and the family—population trends, vital statistics, dependency, illegitimacy, prostitution, poverty, eugenics, birth control, marriage, selection, prediction of success or failure, changing sex mores, mental hygiene. *Five Weeks.*

3. *Family Under Other Societal Patterns*—Family under Fascism and National Socialism—Family in the Soviet Union—evaluation. *Two Weeks*

4. *Family and Social Change*—Family in its relation to other social institutions: survival of family in relation to changing function; summary and ethical evaluation. *Two Weeks*

The text chosen was J. K. Folsom's *The Family: Its Sociology and Social Psychiatry*. In addition, about a dozen monographs were selected for classroom analysis in the course of the semester. This served

the dual purpose of acquainting the group with contemporary literature on important family problems and demonstrating the applicability of socio-cultural principles to the explanation of situations common to the experience of the students. These works included: Institute of Social Research, *Authority and The Family*; W. Waller, *The Old Love And The New*; D. D. Bromley and F. Britten, *Youth And Sex*; E. W. Burgess and L. S. Cottrell, *Predicting Success and Failure In Marriage*; John Levy, *The Happy Family*; G. V. Hamilton, *A Research in Marriage*; Floyd Dell, *Love In the Machine Age*.

Each student in consultation with the instructor wrote an essay on some topic related to marriage and the family that excited his particular interest. The best of these were summarized in class. These reports could be built upon secondary sources in the field, or else be empirical accounts of experience gained in connection with some family organization, or social agencies.

Several students, on the promise of anonymity, volunteered their autobiographies. It was pointed out that all were free to consult the instructor about personal problems on any occasion. A few took advantage of this offer.<sup>3</sup>

To sum up, it can be seen from the above treatment that the course is still in its formative stages, and in process of readjustment to fit the needs of this group. Any suggestions or criticisms on the part of readers of the journal would, therefore, be welcomed by the writer.

<sup>3</sup> Where the problems that students brought to the private interview were personal in nature, no direct advice was given beyond pointing out appropriate guidance agencies, and indicating literature that might clarify the situation. Nothing along the line of "advice to the love-lorn" was attempted.

## RACE, CULTURAL GROUPS, SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### STATUS VALUES AMONG RAILROADMEN\*

DAVID RODNICK

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THE following description of contrasting behavior differences between three categories of railroad employees is based upon an observational study made of these workers in the New Haven terminal of the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad during the summer of 1938. Approximately five hundred railroadmen were interviewed. The techniques used are those commonly employed in ethnological field work. An average of eight to ten hours per day were spent in talking to the men during the time in which they were free. The meeting-places were in union halls, engine- and crew-despatchers' offices, round-houses, yard offices, shacks, and towers. Visits were also made to homes of railroadmen.

The study grew out of an experimental attempt to check ethnological techniques by employing them in the observation of subcultural groups within contemporary

urban society. From this effort there emerged certain empirical generalizations: that occupational subcultures do exist and that ethnic behavior patterns are the core upon which these traits are grafted.

Thus, most clerks share far more of their cultural behavior with other office employees than they do with locomotive firemen. A shopman has fewer distinguishing characteristics to differentiate him from another mechanic than he has in contrast, say, to a passenger train conductor. Yard brakemen are known to be more militant in labor circles than the freight trainmen, from whose ranks they generally come.

The ethnic background seems to be important in the drives for status and in the incentives that play a part in job-satisfaction. As examples, the following can be given:

One N. C., a locomotive fireman whose pay averages about fifty-five dollars a week, is Jewish. Despite the fact that in the eyes of railroadmen the status of a fireman is above that of a clerk or shopman, N. C. feels ashamed to let his friends, mostly Jewish small business men, know of his occupation. He feels that a fireman in the eyes of the latter is considered in the category of apartment-house janitors. Consequently, he tells all of his friends that he is an engineer, since that smacks of education and status and brings up the image of civil and electrical engineering.

\* Although both W. F. Cottrell of Miami University and I did our railroad studies independently and without any previous knowledge that the other was engaged in the same type of activity, yet there is a good deal of similarity in our techniques and in our conclusions. His observations were among western railroadmen; mine among eastern. It seems that railroadmen have very much the same cultural patterns irrespective of the section from which they come.



Another, J. G., a passenger trainman, is Irish. Living in a middle-class suburb near New Haven, he has begun to dabble in town politics. The motive here is not monetary gain, but rather the desire to identify himself with the "gang" and the political "big-shots" of the state and municipal organizations. Among his railroad friends he is all-knowing. To his wife, J. G. has the makings of a good politician: "Like I told him time and time again, he should've gone into politics twenty years ago and made somebody out of himself." And yet, J. G. has held no office higher than that of local chairman of his Brotherhood lodge. Most of his time is spent in trying to impress his fellow-workers with his insight into political intrigues.

Although the Interstate Commerce Commission lists six major classes of employees for the New Haven Railroad, three of them, the clerical, the mechanical, and the train and engine service, represent more than sixty-three percent of the railroad's workers. Thus, the clerks form almost fifteen percent, the mechanical men thirty-one percent, and the train and engine crews eighteen percent of the total number of employees. In the New Haven terminal, however, the clerks and the engine and train crews outnumber the roundhouse men, the "car-knockers" and the car repairers. And since the stores and general offices of the railroad are located also in New Haven, the clerks there total almost as many as the other combined categories of railroadmen.

These clerks who work in large and clean offices are poorly paid as compared with the wages received by engine and train crews and shopmen. Few of them receive more than thirty dollars a week, while most of them average no more than twenty-five. They are badly organized for they are the least union-conscious of all railroad employees. Their advancement is slow and precarious since almost all of the important executive positions are filled with men who have risen from the ranks of those in train service and operation, while those employed in a technical

capacity were originally mechanical engineers, mechanics or draftsmen.

Although thirty-five dollars a week is the maximum wage for clerks, their consuming plane tends to be higher than that of the men in engine, train or shop service, where earnings are from one-third to one-half greater. Clerks spend more money for their clothes, live in a better residential area, their children are fewer, averaging but one or two to a family as against four to five for those in train and engine service, and their patterns in bringing up children are those of the lower middle-class as against the lower-class ones of those in shop and yard service. Clerks feel that a college education is almost a necessity for their children, while the men in train and engine service assume that they have fulfilled all parental obligations by allowing their offspring to finish high school.

Careful budgets are kept by the office clerks. The type of rent and the quality of house-furnishings are considered of paramount importance, since these are the things that separate them, in their own minds, from the non-white-collar workers, that give them status and a sense of importance. Clerks spend less money for entertainment, presents, and union and lodge dues. While an engineer, conductor or fireman will think nothing of sitting down to a game of stud-poker with a dollar betting limit, a clerk, on the other hand, will hesitate even when the bets on each hand are kept down to five cents. To the engine crews bridge is a middle-class game and is rarely indulged in even by their wives, whose favorite pastime is that of playing "Bingo" at church and lodge activities; to the clerks it is the accepted thing to play when entertaining friends. The clerk in the general offices feels that membership in the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks implies a status identification with industrial workers, with the

result that few of them outside of those in freight houses belong to this organization. The man in train and engine service looks upon his Brotherhood in the same light as a small boy who relies upon his big brother to protect him from bullies.

Most of the clerks are Republican in politics, since they find it difficult to disagree with the opinions of the executives with whom they work. The engine, train, and shop crews are definitely pro-New Deal in sympathy. The Old American stock in Connecticut is almost predominantly Republican in view, so that when one considers the fact that over half of the engine and train crews refer to themselves as "Yankees" or "Americans," as against the rest of the men who still call themselves "Irishmen," "Swedes" or "Italians," it can be seen that the importance of occupation on the railroad becomes all the more striking. There is a definite bond over and above religious and ethnic affiliation that makes the "railroader" live in a little world of his own, a world that is far different from the one in which the office clerk finds himself.

Despite the differences in means and ideas of living that exist between the clerks and the operating men, it appears that the level of formal education is certainly not the contributing factor. With the exception of those clerks who received their employment after 1925, the vast majority of those working in the offices are either grammar school graduates with or without a few months of business college training, or individuals who went no higher than the sixth or seventh grades. The educational level of the clerks working in yard or shop service is about the seventh grade, with few who have even attended one year of high school. Some college graduates are found in the offices of the Superintendent of Transportation and the Freight Traffic Manager, but to

the clerk of grammar school education something is radically wrong with a college graduate who will take any clerical job, no matter how specialized such a position might be. For the average office clerk considers a college education to be the key to well-paying executive positions, which explains to a great extent the clerk's desire to have his children receive university training. Clerks whose ambitions have been thwarted by lack of advancement after long years of service explain their plight in terms of their inadequate educational background and their inability to make the right "contacts."

The men in train and engine service present an entirely different picture from that of the clerks. Their pay at the start is far higher than that reached by the clerk who has put in many years of service. Their promotion to better paying jobs that carry a good deal of status is almost assured in the normal course of time. For example, there is the passenger trainman whose initial pay is guaranteed by the railroad to be no less than one hundred and sixty-five dollars per month, if he is available for work twenty-six days out of each thirty. On the basis of his seniority rating, he is automatically eligible to become a train baggageman when vacancies occur. After several years as train baggageman, he can take his examinations to become a passenger conductor and if he passes his tests successfully he is immediately placed on the conductor's roster, where his seniority will determine the type of job he may hold. As a conductor he is guaranteed a minimum income of two hundred and forty dollars for every month that he works. Despite the fact, then, that the average trainman may grumble about his habitual lack of money, he is well aware of the fact that he is far better paid than he would be if he were not

working on a railroad. Owing also to the fact that the majority of the trainmen on the New Haven have seniority rights of more than twenty-five years, their educational level is not a high one, since to the boy of sixteen who applied for work in 1910 or thereabouts an ability to read and write was considered education enough.

Thus, the men in train and engine service have had little reason to be dissatisfied with their jobs. Their pay is good and their status is assured. They are extremely important for the proper running of a railroad and they know it. On the other hand, there are few clerks who feel themselves to be important parts of railroad operation. They develop an awe of their superiors that is by no means shared by the men in train and engine service, an esteem that increases in geometrical ratio with the incomes of the officials. General managers and vice-presidents tend to be almost superhuman in the eyes of their clerks, since the latter have endowed them with the attitudes that they feel would be theirs were the positions to be reversed. And when these officials stoop to greet their clerks affably or to talk to them in a friendly fashion they are almost worshipped by their employees. For the railroad office clerk assumes that it is necessary that executives be brusque and formal in their dealings with those of lower status, and in consequence he will spend many dreamlike hours hoping that he, if not his children, will some day occupy the same position in relationship to others. Much of this can be explained as being due to both the poor pay and the world of ideas that he shares with the lower middle-class. For to the clerk status goes hand in hand with income and the hope in life comes with the wish that the status of the men whom he respects can one day be his. Unlike the train crews he is not interested in making

his present position more secure through the medium of unionization, for his eyes are on the positions above him, rather than upon his own present one. When his ambitions fail to be realized after long years of service, his ready explanation is his lack of education and "pull." Few railroadmen are more conscious of a sense of inferiority than clerks who have spent thirty years or more on the same job. Railroad offices are filled with men of this sort who have resigned themselves to the realization that they have reached the end of their rope.

Despite the mention that has been made of the non-middle-class type of behavior existent among men in train and engine service, it would be a mistake to assume that the railroadman is anti-intellectual. For the man in train and engine service has had to take so many examinations for promotions, tests requiring intricate mechanical knowledge and skill, that he has developed a great respect for technical knowledge and skill. While art, music or the classics may have little appeal for the railroadman, yet it is not uncommon to find engine crews with a rather good knowledge of contemporary science.

The train and engine crews differ from the clerks in the manner in which they spend their money. They will spend more on liquor and lottery tickets, for their wages are far above those received by skilled workers in outside industry. Yet, with a lower middle-class income will go a factory worker's standard of living. The men who rent their homes pay no more than forty dollars a month. Few of them take out more than two thousand dollars worth of insurance with their Brotherhood. They will spend anywhere from twenty-five to forty dollars per month for food and entertainment when working away from their home terminal, although even well-paid engineers rarely



feel that any meal is worth more than forty cents. Sleeping accommodations are generally had at railroad bunkhouses, where the beds are free, or at Railroad "Y's," where the charge is never more than fifty cents a night. Their homes, when they do own them, are generally in workers' neighborhoods, for many of them have not outgrown the habit of living near the roundhouse and the freight yard so as to be within easy call. Although many have bank accounts, few will have savings of five hundred dollars or more. Many were bitten by the speculating bug both before 1929 and after when they bought two or three shares of stock in almost the same manner as they did lottery tickets. Now and then a bachelor engineer is found living in a furnished room and saving his money religiously, but this is one of the rare exceptions, for the rule is that the railroadman does not hold thrift in high esteem.

Food is all-important to the men in train and engine service, and as a result their wives are never allowed to scrimp in preparing meals at home. Their wives will rarely buy cheap cuts of meat; steaks and chops being the regular order of the day. Most, if not all, have become vitamin-conscious during the past few years and food is bought with the idea of getting the most vitamins, proteins, and minerals for the money. Although railroadmen may not spend much on their own clothes, since they dislike the pattern of being "dressed up," they will buy expensive fur coats for their wives, and their children are equipped on the basis that nothing is too good for them. Railroadmen's homes are poorly furnished, with the furniture bought at working-class stores.

Still another index showing the relative status of engine and train crews as contrasted with clerks is in the sort of respect shown to minor officials. Engine and

train crews always refer to master mechanics and superintendents by their last names. Clerks use the term "mister," both in referring to, and in addressing them. Thus, engineers and firemen will speak of a certain official as "Smith." Clerks, in speaking among themselves, will refer to him as "Mister" Smith. Wherever possible, men in engine and train service will attempt to avoid any reference of respect when addressing officials, as if they were trying to inhibit the thought that perhaps the executives and they were not on an equal footing.

The shopmen on the New Haven Road belong to a separate category. Their background is different and their subcultural forms of behavior are quite unlike those of both the clerks and the engine and train crews. The vast majority of the shopmen and repairmen on the New Haven came in as strikebreakers during the famous shopmen's strike of July, 1922. Since union-consciousness was not very strong during the post-war days, it was a comparatively easy task to get non-union machinists and electricians to work at higher wages than they were accustomed to receive in outside industry, for considering the depression existent at that time, the reduced wages for railroad shopmen were still higher than the rates paid to skilled factory workers.

These new shopmen were well aware that the engine and train crews, and even their foremen, looked upon them as "scabs." Many of them had not the slightest interest in either being anti-union or pro-union in sentiment. They had been unaffected by the organizational drives made by the labor unions both during and after the war. And their only attitude in taking the places of the strikers was represented in the dictum, "Each man for himself." To them the strikers had been "damn fools" for leaving

jobs that paid well. Since many of the strikebreakers had been unemployed at the time, work at good wages was looked upon as a godsend.

Few of the men taken on during this strike could have been called skilled mechanics. Many of them had learned their trades in munition factories during the war. Others had finished apprenticeships and were unable to obtain work in their field. The electricians and electric repairmen on the New York Division were mainly men who had learned their trade wiring houses during the war building boom. With the drop in construction at the end of the war and the small number of houses that still lacked electric light connections, they found themselves unable to obtain employment. The shopmen's strike proved to be a boon to them.

The ethnic composition of these new shopmen was quite different from those who had gone out on strike. The strikers had been mainly Irish, Germans, and "Americans." The men who took their places were Italians, Poles, Ukrainians, Swedes, and English, with a sprinkling of Irish and Jews.

These strikebreakers were responsible for a complete change in the status of railroad shopmen. At one time, railroad mechanics were considered to be on the same level of equality with the engine crews. The foremen and the master mechanic were part of the "gang," so that a good deal of intimacy existed between the men and their immediate superiors. Apprentices and helpers were often sons of mechanics, engineers or firemen. In the period before the war, many a fireman got his start by first working a few years as a helper in the roundhouse. However, after 1922 the foremen who had not gone out on strike erected a definite social barrier between themselves and the new men, for the tradition of hav-

ing worked together in the ranks had gone. Although the foremen were by no means union-conscious, they did, however, develop a strong antagonism against the new men that was based not only upon a dislike of the varied ethnic groups to which the strikebreakers belonged, but also upon the fact that these men had taken the "bread out of the mouths" of their former fellow-employees. Many of the foremen, too, were held responsible for the mechanical breakdowns of locomotives and cars, caused in great part by the inexperience of their men, which only heightened their dislike of the latter. And instead of "fighting" for the men during periods of lay-offs, as they did before the strike, they helped the company reduce the ranks of the shopmen by pointing out the number of excess jobs that existed. In former days the foremen had been with the men against the company. After the strike they were with the company against the men.

Until rather recently the shopmen were considered only a little higher in status than the freight handlers and the section men. In terms of rank it was well agreed by almost all railroadmen that the engineers and conductors came first, followed by the firemen, trainmen, foremen and clerks. Train despatchers and yardmasters were included as minor officials, while engine and crew despatchers were on the same footing as engineers and conductors. Anti-alien prejudices have played an important part in determining the relative status of shopmen in the railroad hierarchy. In the first place little formal education is necessary to make a good shopman. While the engine and train crews and clerks are all American-born, many of the shopmen at present are not. An ability to read and write is all that is required of a mechanic or machinist. Few of the shopmen have the

skill necessary to read blueprints; this being mainly done by the foremen. The result is that while none but American-born are hired as clerks, or in engine and train crews, foreign-born have as much chance to be employed as helpers or mechanics in round-houses or shops as the native-born. In consequence the shopmen have been given the same rating as the factory worker, who in Connecticut is known mainly as a first or second generation southern or eastern European. Although the railroad machinist receives on an average from ten to fifteen dollars more per week than the clerk, he nevertheless feels inferior to the man in the office who is on terms of equality with the foremen and the engine crews. One machinist whom I had known as a clerk some fifteen years ago had become a machinist in order to be able to earn a larger weekly pay. Yet, when I saw him in the roundhouse after a lapse of fifteen years, he was extremely apologetic over his present work and spent much of the interview time asking me whether I thought he did the right thing by taking a job that paid more than he would have received if he had remained as a clerk.

The shopmen seem to have less group solidarity than either the clerks or the engine crews. While the clerks may be quite jealous of one another, as a result of their own job insecurity, they will nevertheless present a common front to all the other categories of railroad workers. While less striving for importance is observed among shopmen, they tend to have more personality conflicts with one another than are found among engine and train crews. While the latter will protect one another in the event of trouble, shopmen seem to get a certain amount of satisfaction in seeing one of their fellow workers "put on the spot." There is no covering up of mistakes by

machinists or their helpers in order to save some unfortunate repairman's job, since in the investigations that follow each man is interested in keeping his record clear. Among engine and train crews, and even among clerks, a good deal of lying or pretended ignorance will be indulged in by the men out of sympathy for the individual who is "on the carpet." The basis for this lack of group solidarity is undoubtedly the greater amount of job insecurity from which the shopman suffers, since mass lay-offs are far more frequent in the Maintenance of Equipment division than in any of the other railroad departments.

Even in the social contacts that exist between shopmen there is a difference that differentiates them from either the clerks or the train and engine crews. Chief clerks make an effort to be as courteous as they can be towards the clerks under them. Engineers treat their firemen as equals, as do conductors their trainmen. Shop mechanics on the other hand adopt the same attitude towards their helpers that is held by their foremen towards them. Between engine crews and roundhouse clerks there is a certain amount of mutual respect, as if each saw in the other qualities worthy of possession. However, in the social relationships existing between the clerks and the shopmen there tends to be a certain amount of defensiveness on both sides, which makes it appear that each is afraid of social domination by the other.

The best analogy that could be used to describe the three categories of clerks, engine and train crews, and shopmen is to use the group classification in our modern industrial society. The clerks represent the lower middle-class both in attitudes and incentives. And although there are differences between the engine and train crews based upon their jobs and their



contacts with the public, yet in the main they share a good deal of their cultural behavior with the highly skilled technicians in outside industry. The shopmen represent the semi-skilled factory workers who are both economically insecure and foreman-ridden, with the freight handlers and section men falling into the category of the unskilled laborer.

Although much more detail could be given of the subcultural patterns that exist among the various categories of railroad workers, enough data have been

presented to show that status and class work as well in modern industry as they do in geographical sections of society. Even though differences exist among the men both in personality and in ethnic background, as typified by the incentives and ambitions they possess, there is a certain amount of conformity in behavior and in attitudes that is found among the workers in each important railroad category. The postulate that definite subcultures exist in industry is to a certain extent borne out by this study.

## ETHNIC GROUPS IN CONNECTICUT INDUSTRY\*

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### I

CONNECTICUT is a highly industrialized State, close to one-half of its gainfully employed and over one-fifth of its total population being engaged in industry. The population of Connecticut is composed of a variety of ethnic groups, the most important numerically being the Irish, British-Americans, Italians, Poles, Germans, Jews, French-Canadians, Swedes, Lithuanians, Slovaks, Magyars, and Ukrainians. An attempt is made in this paper to determine the relative importance of the major ethnic groups in the industry of the State as a whole and in the various branches of it in particular.

The study is based on a 3 percent sample of ten ethnic groups<sup>1</sup> in the six principal cities of the State, namely, Hartford, New

Haven, Bridgeport, Waterbury, New Britain, and Stamford. Since the United States Census in enumerating the ethnic groups does not go beyond the second generation immigrants, it was necessary to resort to an estimate. By taking into consideration such factors as the size of each group at the several crucial immigration periods and their natural increase, and checking the results with estimates obtained from local group leaders, a quite close estimate, it is believed, has been reached. Thus, for example, while the United States Census for 1930 enumerates for Hartford 20,756 first and second generation Irish, this group, being one of the oldest immigrant groups in the State and largely made up of second and third generation individuals, has been estimated to be at present about 35,000. On the other hand, the Italians, whose number for New Haven is given in the Census as 41,858, being a comparatively recent immigrant group, have been estimated to be about 50,000.

The method of obtaining the sample was

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<sup>1</sup> The Slovaks and Magyars had to be excluded, as their numbers were entirely negligible in most of the cities covered, and the data obtained about them have been limited to two localities only.

as follows. After determining the size of each group and what constitutes 3 percent thereof, a list of surnames typical of each group in each city was selected by consulting the city directories of the six above-mentioned cities. The selection was, to begin with, on the basis of what are commonly known as unmistakably Italian, Jewish, Polish, and other group names. Only names like Cohen for Jews, O'Brien for Irish, Schultz for Germans, etc., have been selected. In the case of some groups, as in that of the Lithuanians or Ukrainians, where such criterion could not be applied with absolute certainty, parish priests or other community leaders have been asked to check the names. Since American names could not be differentiated from English ones, some first and second generation English immigrants, as well as English Canadians, must have been included among those selected; it was, therefore, deemed preferable to use the term British-Americans for this group, instead of "Old American Stock" or "Yankees."

The next task was to determine which of the surnames chosen occurred most frequently in the city directories. Out of these, enough names were selected to make up 3 percent of the total size of each group in each of the cities. In some cases, as in that of the Swedes, 3 percent of their total in Hartford called for 242 individuals, which was more than covered by the single name of Carlson, as the directory of that city lists 338 persons by that name. In this case it was deemed advisable to take only one-third of the persons named Carlson, as well as one-third of four other typically Swedish names, viz., Erickson, Larson, Olson, and Swanson, there being well over one hundred persons in the city bearing each of these surnames. Again, in the case of the Irish, the New Haven city directory lists 435 Sullivans, which is

over one-third of the 1,283 needed for the sample. Thus, as intimated, in every instance only a few names had to be used. This made it possible to select names in which there is hardly a doubt that they are representative of the particular group. Moreover, since only persons twenty-one years and over are listed in the directories, the sample is actually much larger than 3 percent of the total size of the groups. The address and occupation of each person bearing the surname selected in the above-mentioned manner were then classified. Since some ethnic groups are still more or less concentrated in certain streets and sections of the city, the address served as an additional check. It was especially useful in eliminating Negroes, many of whom bear representative Old-American or English names.

The cities selected for the study are the most important in the State, not only in population size but industrially as well, as approximately four-fifths of Connecticut's products are manufactured in plants in and around those cities. The sample covers therefore practically every major type of Connecticut industry, except the textile industry which is concentrated in the northeastern part of the State, a section not reached by this study. Since, however, some textile factories are located in the areas covered, this branch of industry has not by any means been excluded.

## II

Of the 19,319 individuals covered by the sample 6,197, or 32 percent, were found to be engaged in industry. This percentage, therefore, may be considered as the average for the total population in the six cities sampled. The groups greatly surpassing this average are the Ukrainians, French-Canadians, Lithuanians, and Poles; the first-named have over half and

the other three close to half of their totals in industry. Other groups exceeding the average are the Swedes and Italians. The Germans have about an average representation, while the British-Americans, Irish, and Jews fall below the average, the last-named having only slightly over 10 percent of their total engaged in industry.

Industry is here defined as including the four broad categories of manufacturing, building and construction, transportation, and public utilities. Of the total sampled, 26.0 percent were found to be engaged in manufacturing. Considerably surpassing this average are the Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Poles, and French-Canadians. The Swedes, Italians, and Germans also exceed the average, while the British-Americans, Irish, and Jews fail to reach it, the last-named being represented in manufacturing by only 6.5 percent. Of those engaged in industry, on the other hand, 81.3 percent, as apparent in Table 1, are in manufacturing. This average is exceeded by five groups, namely, the Lithuanians, Poles, Ukrainians, French-Canadians, and Germans, the two first-mentioned groups having almost 95 percent of all of their members engaged in industry occupied in factories. The rest of the groups all fall short of the norm, the Jews having the smallest proportion of all.

In building and construction, which engages 3.8 percent of the total sampled, the picture is radically changed. Here we find the Swedes, French-Canadians, Italians, Irish, and Jews contributing the largest proportions. On the other hand, of those engaged in industry, 11.7 percent are in building and construction. Significantly surpassing this average are the Jews. Practically one-third of all Jews engaged in industry are to be found in this field. Exceeding the average are also the Italians, Irish, and Swedes, while the French-Canadians have an exactly average

representation. Together these five groups supply well over 90 percent of all individuals engaged in this branch of industry. It is noteworthy that the Poles, with less than 1 percent in this field, are at the very bottom of the list.

Only 1.5 percent of all the groups sampled are engaged in transportation. Here the Irish and Germans unquestionably lead all other groups, while the Jews and Lithuanians have the lowest representation. Table 1 shows that 4.8 percent of all those occupied in industry are in transportation. The Irish, exceeding this average by over 100 percent, lead all other groups in this field. Following them are the Germans, British-Americans, and Jews. The figures obtained on the distribution of the various groups in public utilities are too small to be conclusive, as only 0.7 percent of the members of all groups and only 2.3 percent of those in industry are engaged in this field. Nevertheless, as Table 1 indicates quite clearly, the Irish, British-Americans, and Germans have proportionately larger representations in this branch than any of the other groups. The Ukrainians are the only group having no representation at all in public utilities.

A further analysis of the distribution of the several ethnic groups in the various branches of the four major fields of industry has been attempted only in manufacturing. Following the classification of the *Directory of Connecticut Manufacturers*,<sup>2</sup> published by the State Labor Department, Connecticut's manufacturing consists of the following main categories: metal and metal products; machine-shop products; clothing and other cloth goods; transportation equipment; printing and allied

<sup>2</sup> Except in the case of Power Laundries, Dry Cleaning, and Automobile Service and Repair which have been included under Trade and Commerce as services.



products; rubber, bone, celluloid, and composition goods; chemicals and allied products; food and kindred products; textiles; wood products; and paper and paper products.

In manufacturing, the field engaging the largest percentage of individuals is the production of metal and metal products. Practically 10 percent of all individuals in the sample were found to be occupied in metal factories. The Lithuanians, with almost one-fourth of their number so occupied, lead all others. Following them are the Poles, Ukrainians, French-Canadians, and Italians. The Jews, with only 1.4 percent of their total in this field, have the smallest percentage of all. Table 2 shows that 37.9 percent of all individuals in manufacturing are engaged in the production of metal and metal products. Exceeding this percentage to a large extent are, again, the Lithuanians, over half of whose factory workers are employed in metal plants. Also considerably surpassing the norm are the Poles and Italians. The Ukrainians are slightly below the norm, and the other groups fall below it in various degrees.

In the branch next in importance, namely, machine shops, the Ukrainians, Poles, French-Canadians, and Swedes have proportionately the largest representations. The group having the highest percentage among its factory workers occupied in machine shops are the Swedes. As seen in Table 2, 40.5 percent of all the Swedes in manufacturing are engaged in such shops. Next to them are the British-Americans and Ukrainians. Other groups with relatively high percentages of their factory workers engaged in machine shops are the Irish, Poles, French-Canadians, and Germans. The Lithuanians, Jews, and Italians fail to come up to the norm, the last-named having the lowest ranking.

The situation is quite the reverse in the case of clothing and other cloth goods. In this branch the Italians decidedly lead all others. Over 14 percent of all Italians in manufacturing are in clothing and cloth goods production, as against an average of 6.4 percent. The Jews, with 13.9 percent of all those in manufacturing occupied in this industry, come very close to the Italians. Of the rest of the groups none comes up to the average, the Swedes having the lowest proportion of all.

Textile manufacturing, although a major industry in Connecticut, was not, as noted before, covered sufficiently for the results to be conclusive. If the northeastern section of the State, where this industry is concentrated, were included in the sample, the French-Canadians would most likely have appeared as leading all other groups. As it is, only 1.3 percent of all those in manufacturing are found to be occupied in this industry, with the French-Canadians, to be sure, surpassing this average, but following behind the Ukrainians, Germans, and Jews.

In the manufacture of transportation equipment, the Swedes appear as having the largest percentage of those in their group engaged in manufacturing. Close rivals are the French-Canadians and British-Americans. The only other group that considerably exceeds the norm are the Jews. In printing and allied industries, on the other hand, it is the Jews who have the highest percentage. The Irish and British-Americans both exceed the norm in the field of printing, but to a much smaller degree than the Jews. In the manufacture of rubber and allied products it is the Lithuanians, Italians, French-Canadians, and Poles who surpass all others. Finally, in the field of chemicals and allied products the groups having the highest percentages of those occupied in

manufacturing are the Irish and Germans, while in food and kindred products as well as in wood and paper products the group ranking highest are the Jews.

The rôle played by each group in the industry of the State, i.e., its participation

concentrate in one field rather than another, or even be almost or entirely unrepresented in some. This fact undoubtedly indicates the existence of differences in the economic, social, and cultural status among the groups, as some fields

TABLE 1

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS, BY MAJOR ETHNIC GROUPS, IN THE VARIOUS BRANCHES OF CONNECTICUT INDUSTRY

(Based on a 3 per cent sample of each ethnic group, taken from the 1937 city directories of Hartford, New Haven, Bridgeport, Waterbury, New Britain, and Stamford)

GROUP	P.C. OF TOTAL POPULATION IN THE SIX CITIES	TOTAL SAMPLE	ALL INDUSTRY*		MANUFACTURING**			BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION***			TRANSPORTATION†			PUBLIC UTILITIES††		
			Number	P.C. of Total in Industry	Number	P.C. of All of Group in Industry	P.C. of Total in Manufacturing	Number	P.C. of All of Group in Industry	P.C. of Total in Building and Construction	Number	P.C. of All of Group in Industry	P.C. of Total in Transportation	Number	P.C. of All of Group in Industry	P.C. of Total in Public Utilities
Italians.....	23.6	4,818	1,885	30.4	1,529	81.1	30.4	262	13.9	36.1	71	3.8	24.1	23	1.2	16.3
Irish.....	19.4	3,883	965	15.6	690	71.5	13.7	134	13.9	18.5	94	9.7	31.9	47	4.9	33.3
British-Americans.....	14.6	2,951	737	11.9	595	80.7	11.8	70	9.5	9.6	41	5.6	13.9	31	4.2	22.0
Poles.....	6.9	1,446	681	11.0	643	94.4	12.8	11	1.6	1.5	18	2.6	6.1	9	1.3	6.4
French-Canadians.....	4.7	935	462	7.5	391	84.6	7.8	54	11.7	7.4	11	2.4	3.7	6	1.3	4.3
Germans.....	6.4	1,361	445	7.2	370	83.2	7.3	34	7.6	4.7	28	6.3	9.5	13	2.9	9.2
Swedes.....	3.8	822	357	5.7	269	75.4	5.3	69	19.3	9.5	14	3.9	4.7	5	1.4	3.6
Lithuanians.....	3.1	646	316	5.1	299	94.6	5.9	10	3.2	1.4	3	0.9	1.0	4	1.3	2.8
Jews.....	10.9	2,237	236	3.8	144	61.0	2.9	76	32.2	10.5	13	5.5	4.4	3	1.3	2.1
Ukrainians.....	0.9	220	113	1.8	105	92.9	2.1	6	5.3	0.8	2	1.8	0.7	0	0.0	0.0
All groups.....	94.3	19,319	6,197	100.0	5,035	81.3	100.0	726	11.7	100.0	295	4.8	100.0	141	2.3	100.0

\* Industry is defined for purposes of this study as embracing the four categories listed here: Manufacturing, Building and Construction, Transportation and Public Utilities.

\*\* Manufacturing is defined as embracing the first 14 economic activities listed in the *Directory of Connecticut State Manufacturers*, State Labor Department, 1936. Power Laundries and Automotive Service and Repairs were classified in this study, not under Manufacturing, but under Trade and Commerce.

\*\*\* Building and Construction is defined as including all types of Building and Road and Bridge Construction.

† Transportation is defined as including Railroads, Trolley and Bus Lines, Trucking, Taxi Companies, and Marine Transportation.

†† Public Utilities are defined as embracing Electric Light, Water, Gas, and Telephone and Telegraph Companies. No other public utilities appeared in the sample.

in terms of numbers of individuals, depends, of course, to a large extent upon the size of the group. As a rule, the larger the group the greater is the number of its members in every branch of industry. Nevertheless, as we have seen, a group may

are known to offer greater security, more lucrative employment, or, in general, to carry more prestige than others. Moreover, proportionately insignificant representation in industry as a whole undoubtedly means concentration in some

field outside of industry, namely, in trade and commerce, civil service, the professions, etc.

As can be noted in Table 1, the Italians, constituting the largest single group, supply over 30 percent of workers to Connecticut's industry as a whole as well as to its manufacturing. Well over one-third of all those in building and construction and about one-fourth of

other fields, building and construction, transportation, and public utilities, except possibly in the first field, where the Poles almost reach a proportionate representation. The Germans and Swedes exceed their proportion in the population in industry as a whole. The first group, however, fails to have a proportionate representation in building and construction, and the latter falls short of it by a few

TABLE 2

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS, BY MAJOR ETHNIC GROUPS, IN THE VARIOUS BRANCHES OF CONNECTICUT MANUFACTURING\*

(Based on a 3 per cent sample of each group, taken from the 1937 city directories of Hartford, New Haven, Bridgeport, Waterbury, New Britain, and Stamford)

GROUP	P.C. OF TOTAL POPULATION IN SIX CITIES	TOTAL SAMPLE	ALL MANUFACTURING		METAL AND METAL PRODUCTS	MACHINE SHOPS	CLOTHING AND OTHER CLOTH GOODS	TRANSPORTATION EQUIPMENT	PRINTING AND ALLIED INDUSTRIES	RUBBER, BONE, CELLULOSE AND COMPOSITION GOODS	CHEMICALS AND ALLIED PRODUCTS	FOOD AND KINDRED PRODUCTS	TEXTILES	WOOD PRODUCTS	PAPER AND PAPER PRODUCTS	MISCELLANEOUS	UNKNOWN
			Number	Per Cent													
Italians.....	23.6	4,818	1,529	30.4	41.6	20.3	14.8	1.9	2.2	4.1	1.4	1.2	1.3	1.1	0.9	2.2	7.1
Irish.....	19.4	3,883	690	13.7	33.0	35.5	3.3	2.9	5.7	2.3	3.9	2.5	0.6	1.5	2.3	1.0	5.5
Poles.....	6.9	1,446	643	12.8	43.7	33.9	2.5	2.5	0.9	3.1	0.9	1.2	0.6	0.3	0.5	0.8	9.0
British-Americans...	14.6	2,951	595	11.8	32.6	37.3	2.4	5.2	5.6	1.7	1.7	2.2	0.8	1.3	1.2	1.7	6.4
French-Canadians...	4.7	935	391	7.8	35.6	33.5	1.5	5.4	0.8	3.1	1.5	0.5	2.1	3.1	1.8	1.5	9.7
Germans.....	6.4	1,361	370	7.3	33.2	31.6	2.2	3.5	2.7	1.9	3.2	2.7	3.5	0.5	1.9	3.5	9.5
Lithuanians.....	3.1	646	299	5.9	52.2	24.8	1.7	3.3	0.3	4.4	0.0	2.0	1.0	1.3	2.0	1.3	5.7
Swedes.....	3.8	822	269	5.3	30.5	40.5	0.4	6.3	2.2	0.4	0.7	0.7	0.4	1.5	0.4	1.1	14.9
Jews.....	10.9	2,237	144	2.9	21.5	20.8	13.9	4.2	8.3	0.7	1.4	4.2	2.1	4.2	2.8	6.3	9.7
Ukrainians.....	0.9	220	105	2.1	37.2	36.2	1.9	0.9	2.9	0.9	0.0	1.9	4.8	0.9	0.9	0.9	10.5
All groups.....	94.3	19,319	5,035	100.0	37.9	29.7	6.4	3.3	2.9	2.8	1.7	1.7	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.8	7.9

\* The classification of manufacturing follows that given in the *Directory of Connecticut State Manufacturers*, State Labor Department, 1936, except in the case of Power Laundries, Dry Cleaning, and Automobile Service and Repair, which have been included under Trade and Commerce as services.

those in transportation are also Italian. The Irish and British-Americans are represented in industry by less than their proportion in the population, but together they constitute over half of those in public utilities and little less than half of those in transportation. The Poles, Lithuanians, and Ukrainians all contribute more than their proportion in the population to industry as a whole, but are of comparatively little or no significance in the three

points in public utilities. The Jews, the third largest group in the six cities, are proportionately under-represented in industry as a whole, except in one field, namely, building and construction.

As figures in Table 2 indicate, the largest percentage of all individuals in manufacturing, regardless of the group to which they belong, is engaged in metal and machine shop factories which is due, of course, to Connecticut's being primarily



a metal and machine shop center. As we have noted, however, in the first, metal manufacturing, it is the Lithuanians, Poles, Ukrainians, French-Canadians, and Italians who predominate, while the Irish, British-Americans, Jews, Swedes, and Germans fail to come up to the average; in the second, machine shops, it is the Swedes, British-Americans, Ukrainians, Irish, Poles, French-Canadians, and Germans who show the heaviest concentration, while the Italians, Jews, and Lithuanians play a relatively insignificant rôle. In the other branches of manufacturing, figures in Table 2 point to the fact that the Italians concentrate primarily in the production of clothing and cloth goods, and to some extent in rubber and allied goods, the Irish in printing and allied products, the British-Americans in printing and allied products as well as in transportation equipment, the Jews in clothing and cloth goods as well as in printing and allied products, the Poles in rubber and composition goods, the Germans in the production of transportation equipment, textiles, and chemicals and allied products, the Swedes and French Canadians<sup>3</sup> in the production of transportation equipment, and the Lithuanians as well as the Ukrainians in rubber and composition goods.

### III

Following the classification of the *Alphabetical Index of Occupations by Industries and Social-Economic Groups* published by the United States Bureau of the Census, all individuals in industry have been divided into the following five categories: unskilled, semi-skilled, skilled, foremen, and executives. In the last two classes,

namely, foremen and executives, there were included all who were designated as such in the directories, plus, in the case of foremen, those on the railroads listed as yardmasters, stationmasters, crew-dispatchers and inspectors, and, in the case of executives, those on the railroads designated as train dispatchers, trainmasters, road foremen of engines, and master mechanics.

An analysis reveals that 1.7 percent of all individuals included in the sample are unskilled, 14.1 per cent semi-skilled, 8.7 percent skilled, 1 percent foremen, and 1.1 percent executives. The Italians and Lithuanians are found to have proportionately the largest percentage of unskilled workers. Among the semi-skilled, it is the Ukrainians who have proportionately the largest representation. Next to them come the Poles, Lithuanians, and French-Canadians, the first having well over one-fourth of their total number among the semi-skilled and the other two groups close to that proportion. Of the rest of the groups only the Italians show a considerable proportion among the semi-skilled, about one-fifth being in this class. The Swedes have proportionately a larger representation among the skilled workers than the rest of the groups. Other groups having good-sized representations in this class are the French-Canadians, Germans, Lithuanians, and Ukrainians. In the foremen class, the Swedes are again in the lead. Closely following them are the Germans, Irish, and British-Americans. The British-Americans are found to lead among the executives. They are closely followed by the Jews, Germans, and Swedes.

Table 3 reveals that 5.2 percent of all individuals in industry are unskilled, 44.1 percent semi-skilled, 27.1 per cent skilled, 3.2 percent foremen, 3.6 percent executives,

<sup>3</sup> If northeastern Connecticut were included in the sample, the French-Canadians would undoubtedly be found concentrating in the manufacturing of Textiles.

# RACE, CULTURAL GROUPS

103

TABLE 3  
PER CENT DISTRIBUTION, BY MAJOR ETHNIC GROUP, OF UNSKILLED, SEMI-SKILLED, AND SKILLED WORKERS, FOREMEN, AND EXECUTIVES IN CONNECTICUT INDUSTRY  
(Based on a 3 per cent sample of each group, taken from the 1937 city directories of Hartford, New Haven, Bridgeport, Waterbury, New Britain, and Stamford)

GROUP	P.C. OF TOTAL POPULATION IN THE SIX CITIES	TOTAL SAMPLE			ALL CLASSES			UNSKILLED*			SEMI-SKILLED*			SKILLED*			FOREMEN**			EXECUTIVES†			UNCLASSIFIED††		
		Number	Per Cent	P.C. of All of Group in Industry	Number	Per Cent	P.C. of All of Group in Industry	Number	Per Cent	P.C. of All of Group in Industry	Number	Per Cent	P.C. of All of Group in Industry	Number	Per Cent	P.C. of All of Group in Industry	Number	Per Cent	P.C. of All of Group in Industry	Number	Per Cent	P.C. of All of Group in Industry			
Italians.....	23.6	4,818	1.885	30.4	158	49.2	8.4	916	33.5	48.6	21.0	18.7	25	12.6	1.3	19	8.6	1.0	414	39.7	21.9				
Irish.....	19.4	3,883	965	15.6	61	19.0	6.3	373	13.6	38.7	17.2	29.9	64	32.3	6.6	36	16.3	3.7	142	13.7	14.7				
British-Americans.....	14.6	2,951	737	11.9	24	7.5	3.3	245	8.9	33.2	13.9	31.8	45	22.7	6.1	74	33.5	10.0	115	11.0	15.6				
Poles.....	6.9	1,446	681	10.9	21	6.5	3.1	398	14.6	58.4	7.8	19.2	7	3.5	1.0	1	0.4	0.1	123	11.8	18.1				
French-Canadians.....	4.7	935	462	7.5	13	4.1	2.8	232	8.5	50.2	8.7	31.6	6	3.1	1.3	4	1.8	0.9	61	5.8	13.2				
Germans.....	6.4	1,361	445	7.2	15	4.7	3.4	170	6.2	38.2	151	9.1	34.2	23	11.6	5.2	27	12.2	6.1	58	5.6	13.0			
Swedes.....	3.8	822	357	5.8	4	1.2	1.1	101	3.7	28.3	196	11.7	54.9	15	7.6	4.2	15	6.8	4.2	26	2.5	7.3			
Lithuanians.....	3.1	646	316	5.1	19	6.0	6.0	166	6.1	51.5	67	3.9	21.2	6	3.1	1.9	0	0.0	0.0	58	5.6	18.4			
Jews.....	10.9	2,237	236	3.8	4	1.2	1.7	66	2.4	27.9	89	5.3	37.7	5	2.5	2.1	45	20.4	19.1	27	2.6	11.4			
Ukrainians.....	0.9	220	113	1.8	2	0.6	1.7	68	2.5	60.2	23	1.4	20.0	2	1.0	1.7	0	0.0	0.0	18	1.7	15.7			
All groups.....	94.3	19,319	6,197	100.0	321	100.0	5.2	2,735	100.0	44.1	1,680	100.0	27.1	198	100.0	3.2	221	100.0	3.6	1,042	100.0	16.8			

\* In the classification of unskilled, semi-skilled, and skilled occupations, this table follows that used in the *Alphabetical Index of Occupations by Industries and Social-Economic Groups*, Bureau of the Census, 1937.

\*\* Included among "foremen" are all those specifically designated as such in the city directories, plus those on the railroads listed as yardmasters, stationmasters, crew dispatchers and inspectors.

† Included among "executives" are all those specifically designated as such in the city directories, plus those designated as managers, supervisors, superintendents, officers of corporations, and those on the railroads designated as train dispatchers, trainmasters, road foremen of engines, and master mechanics.

†† Included among the "unclassified" are all those about whom information as to type of employment was not given in the city directories.

and 16.8 percent unclassified.<sup>4</sup> The group showing the highest percentage of unskilled among its industrial workers are, again, the Italians. Indeed, almost half of all unskilled laborers in industry are Italian. Exceeding the norm are also the Irish, about one-fifth of whose industrial workers are in the class of unskilled, and the Lithuanians. In the class of semi-skilled it is the Ukrainians, Poles, Lithuanians, and French-Canadians who exceed considerably the norm. The Ukrainians, with 60.2 percent of their workers semi-skilled, lead all others in this class. The Swedes, on the other hand, have the largest proportion of skilled among their industrial workers, well over half being in that category. Following them are the Jews, Germans, and British-Americans. The only other group exceeding the norm in this category are the Irish.

In the class of foremen, the Irish and British-Americans come first. Surpassing the norm in this category are also the Germans and Swedes. Finally, the Jews and British-Americans are found to supply the largest proportions of individuals in industry to the executive class. The former have 19.1 percent of all of those in this category, and the latter, 10 percent. A by far smaller proportion, but exceeding the norm, is to be found among the Germans, Swedes, and Irish. The Ukrainians and Lithuanians lack any representation in this category.

#### IV

The above analysis indicates significant variations in the position occupied by the several ethnic groups in the industry of the State. The Italians have an above-average representation in industry as a whole as well as in manufacturing and

building and construction. Their comparatively large representation in transportation is primarily due to the fact that considerable numbers of them are employed as unskilled and semi-skilled laborers on railroad construction and repairs. The British-Americans, Irish, and particularly the Jews have definitely a below-average representation in industry. On the other hand, the first two groups may be said to practically monopolize transportation and public utilities. Within industry the British-Americans and Irish fall below the average in manufacturing as well as in building and construction. The Jews, however, while having the lowest proportion of any group in manufacturing, are better represented in building and construction than in any other field of industry.

The Poles, Lithuanians, Ukrainians, and French-Canadians have the highest representation in industry as a whole as well as in manufacturing. While the representation of Ukrainians, Poles, and Lithuanians in building and construction, transportation, and public utilities is negligible, that of the French-Canadians is high in building and construction, far from negligible in transportation, and only one point below the average in public utilities.

While having an above average representation in industry as a whole as well as in manufacturing, the Swedes have the highest proportion of any group in building and construction. In transportation, too, they have an above-average representation, while in public utilities they fall only one point below the average. Finally, the Germans have only about an average representation in industry as a whole as well as in manufacturing. While their representation in building and construction is below aver-

<sup>4</sup> The majority of the "unclassified" are clerical workers not dealt with in this paper.



age, that in transportation and public utilities is comparatively high.

As brought out above, the percentage of unskilled industrial laborers in general is comparatively low. This undoubtedly is due to the fact that little room is left in modern industry for workers without any skill. The groups having the highest percentages of unskilled among its workers in industry are the Italians, Irish, and Lithuanians, and those having the lowest are the Swedes, Jews, and Ukrainians. Those having the highest percentages of semi-skilled among its workers are the Ukrainians, Poles, Lithuanians, French-Canadians, and Italians, and those having the lowest are the Jews, Swedes, and British-Americans. The highest percentage of skilled workers is to be found among the Swedes and Jews, and the lowest among the Poles, Italians, and Ukrainians. The Irish and British-Americans have the highest percentages among the foremen, while the Poles, Italians, French-Canadians, Ukrainians, and Lithuanians have the lowest. Finally, the Jews, British-Americans, and Germans have the highest percentages among the executives, and the Poles, Ukrainians, and Lithuanians, the lowest, the two last-named groups, as already pointed out, showing no representation at all. The relatively large percentage of Jews among the executives, it should be noted, is due primarily to the fact that heads of small and relatively unimportant concerns, often employing not more than two or three

workers of whom the "president" is one, have been classified as executives. Were those left out of consideration, the number of Jewish executives would be very insignificant.

The analysis demonstrates quite definitely the superior position held by certain groups, notably the British-Americans, in Connecticut industry. The latter clearly predominate in the most remunerative fields and positions. The groups from northern and western Europe, namely, the Irish, Swedes, and Germans, and to some extent, the French-Canadians, as a rule, tend to gravitate toward jobs generally offering greater security and higher remuneration. On the other hand, the groups who originally came from eastern and southern Europe, namely, the Poles, Lithuanians, Ukrainians, and Italians, tend to be in fields usually requiring less skill and to occupy positions offering less security, remuneration, and status. The Jews form a unique group in industry. Being largely engaged in trade, commerce, and the professions, they have a comparatively small representation in industry. Moreover, the majority of Jews are in the skilled and managerial classes. In general, it may be said that, aside from the British-Americans who undoubtedly appear as the leaders in industry, those groups which have been here longest or have become more acculturated have reached a higher level in the occupational ladder, at least insofar as industry is concerned.

## GOVERNMENT, POLITICS, CITIZENSHIP

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### DOCTORS AND THE DRAFT

JOSEPH HIRSH\*

Office of Education

ONE of the first—of what promises to be a spate of papers on the sociological implications of the Selective Service and Training Act—calls attention to the mechanism of the Act and the employment of basic sociological theory and methodology in connection with its operation.<sup>1</sup> While the medical and public press have given some little consideration to the problem of medical personnel required for the armed forces, as yet there has been no critical appraisal of both military and civilian needs and how one will affect the other.

Today there are approximately 170,000 physicians in the United States. Of this number, about 130,000 are in private practice. About 10,000 are retired or engaged in nonmedical work. Somewhat over 20,000 are on full-time salaries in hospitals, clinics, public health and welfare agencies, and in industry. Another 10,000 are interns or residents in hospitals.

There are more physicians per capita in the United States than in any other country in the world.<sup>2</sup> The mere number

of physicians in relation to population, said to be adequate for civilian needs, is by no means the only test of the availability of good medical service. *It is, however, an important one.* The maintenance of high standards of training and facilities, a continuous supply of personnel and equipment—including dentists, nurses, technicians, ancillary medical personnel, and adequate hospitals, clinics, and laboratories—together with a better distribution of these persons and facilities are perhaps more important.

In the face of a national crisis, with increasing demands by the military for more medical personnel, how will civilian interests fare? We can rest our trust in the continuing efforts of the American Medical Association and the American College of Surgeons to maintain a high *quality* of training and equipment. Many thoughtful physicians, social scientists, and other professional workers are giving earnest consideration to the maldistribution of physicians, ancillary personnel, and facilities. But what of a continuous supply of physicians?

For a number of years, the number of medical graduates has been slightly in excess of 5,000,<sup>3</sup> barely sufficient to main-

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<sup>1</sup> V. A. Rapport, *Sociological Implications of Selective Service*. Amer. Sociol. Rev., v. 6, no. 2 (April 1941), pp. 225-229.

<sup>2</sup> Factual Data on Medical Economics. Bureau of Medical Economics, American Medical Association (Chicago, 1939), p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> It should be pointed out that less than 60 per cent or under 3,000 would be considered eligible for military service because of physical disability, dependency, etc.

tain the existing ratio of physicians to population, for every year approximately 3,500 physicians die and another 1,500 retire from medical practice or engage in other work. As a matter of fact, it is common knowledge that many hospitals are badly understaffed and that existing staffs are severely overworked. To add to this disquieting picture, last year about 700 internships went begging because there were not enough men to fill them. To tap civilian medical resources for the military, will mean—assuming that the number of medical graduates remains constant—that the number of doctors available for the general population will diminish by the thousands every year. Yet the need for physicians' services will not decrease. If we are to profit from our experience in past emergencies, quite the opposite is true. Crisis creates stresses and makes additional demands upon all citizens over and beyond those in normal times. Lack of proper food, housing, rest, the danger of epidemics, added to the diversion of thousands of doctors into the military, and you have a major crisis in itself.

Apparently we haven't learned very much from our experience in the last war—that is, so far as this problem is concerned. Already several hospitals are reported to be understaffed because physicians have been called into military service. And this is only the beginning! In 1917 the Draft depleted and disorganized many hospital staffs. A number of leading hospitals in Chicago lost as many as 40 percent of their interns—the backbone of the operating force. In New York the situation was equally bad. One of the largest and best hospitals on the West Coast was so understaffed, that almost half of the interns were graduates of osteopathic schools. Everywhere—North, East, South, and West—the shortage of phy-

sicians was so acute that it began to tell on the health of the people. When the devastating influenza pandemic finally struck the United States, taking almost a half million lives in the first six months, the startling implications of the situation were finally brought home.

In normal times and, even more so, in times of crisis we need good doctors, not inept, half-trained youngsters. To pull medical students (especially those in the third and fourth years) engaged in clinical training and interns and residents out of their schools, hospitals, and training centers for army service, not as doctors, mind you, for the Army Medical Corps has rigorous medical standards of training and experience—demanding as a minimum, graduation from a grade A medical college (approved by the American Medical Association) and at least one year's clinical internship—but as privates, would be a grave loss to the health and medical resources of civilian communities and armed forces alike. Yet to defer them indefinitely (if we are to maintain a constant ratio of physicians to population) or until they have completed their training—which in the case of certain specialties is a matter of anywhere to five or more years—would be discriminatory to other professional groups and a virtual violation of the principle of Selective Service. The solution to this problem is obviously not an easy one—and is creating many a furrowed brow in public health and medical circles.

Doctors are no less important for the Army than for civilians. If we are to have any defense at all, we must have strong and efficient soldiers. Hence the need for a sound and numerically adequate Medical Corps.

The peacetime strength of the Army Medical Corps is computed at about 7 medical officers per 1,000 men. This is



a minimum requirement for training (of medical, medical administrative, and sanitary officers and of enlisted personnel for the Medical Department), overhead, and professional work. Precluded from this ratio are a large number of medical officers required for tactical and combat units in the theatre of war.

Wartime requirements of medical officers are somewhat higher—about 8 per 1,000 men. This ratio, reached during the last year of the World War I, is deemed adequate today, after a review of the experiences of two years of war abroad. It would seem, therefore, that the aggregate of casualties resulting from modern mechanized warfare will not exceed those of the first World War.

But where are the medical officers needed for the care of our new peacetime army to come from? At the present time, there are 1,230 Medical Corps officers in the Regular Army.<sup>4</sup> Our present army of about 1,400,000, however, requires a minimum of 9,800 medical officers. To fill the quota required for the proper care and training of our civilian army, it has been necessary to muster medical officers from the Organized Reserves. This corps comprises only 12,500 officers, of which somewhat over 25 percent, or over 3,000, are not available for service,<sup>5</sup> leaving only 9,500 in the Reserve Officer pool. By July 1941, when the Army will be at the peak of its peacetime

strength, virtually the entire reserve pool will have been exhausted.

The 1942 peacetime Training and Service Program—and this will probably be true of every subsequent year during which the Selective Service and Training Act is in operation—calls for over 10,000 medical officers, of which over 9,000 will have to come from the Organized Reserves and from civilian sources. If, as some optimists estimate, as many as 50 percent of the Reserve Medical Officers do not return to their civilian practices and remain on active duty,<sup>6</sup> still 4,500 new officers will have to be recruited from among civilian doctors. With the medical population almost static—5,000 graduates replacing an equal number of retiring or dying annually—a yearly drain of 4,500 civilian physicians for the Army has serious implications. Obviously, this would be augmented many times if we were to mobilize an army of 4,000,000 men requiring over 30,000 medical officers.

One thing this war should have taught us by now is that our preparation should neither be too late nor too little. That applies equally well to the problem of medical personnel as to industrial mobilization and military training. Since the Army *must* draw upon civilian doctors for the care and training of soldiers, what can be done to offset a serious depletion for civilians?

There are four practical steps—two long-range and one immediate—that can be taken *now*. No one is completely satisfactory, but the germ of the solution may be found in a combination of all three. Thus:

<sup>6</sup> According to law, medical reserve officers are called to extended active duty for one year. Their service cannot be extended beyond this period without their approval, unless an emergency is declared. [Since this article was written, there has been the declaration of a national emergency and the extension of service under the Draft Act.]

<sup>4</sup> This does not include 1,150 medical officers inducted with and now stationed with National Guard units in the Army. These officers are deemed adequate for the peacetime service of the National Guard. In a general mobilization and war, however, it is estimated that their number would have to be doubled. Obviously, this would mean a severe drain on Regular and Reserve Office supply.

<sup>5</sup> Due to resignation of junior grade officers because of dependency; legitimate deferments, *i.e.*, public health officers; physical disability; lack of suitable vacancies for officers of senior rank, *i.e.*, lieutenant-colonels and colonels.

1. Lay, medical, and public health officials should give careful consideration to a plan whereby physicians could be better distributed—relieving extreme medical congestion in certain urban centers, replacing an ageing medical population with younger men and women in many rural areas, and filling wide gaps in medical personnel<sup>7</sup> in other areas.

2. Medical schools should admit larger classes, at least during the emergency, without lowering entrance requirements or standards of training. If this requires expansion of existing facilities, government subsidization may be desirable as was necessary in certain defense industries.

3. The Medical Department of the Army has, at the present time, about 1,000 officer

reservists in the Medical Administrative Corps (with duties similar to those of superintendents in civilian hospitals) and almost 400 officers in the Sanitary Corps (whose duties, similar to those of civilian public health workers, include field and camp environmental sanitation). These Corps comprise men who work professionally in bacteriology, chemistry, physics, engineering, water purification, food inspection, waste disposal, medical and hospital administration, statistics and sociology, and a score of other professions. If these Corps were expanded and their officer personnel were substituted for Medical Corps officers now engaged in work not requiring graduate physicians, *i.e.*, administrative and supply duties, mess and sanitary inspection, epidemiological studies, and routine inoculations of vaccines and other biologicals, it is estimated that about 1,000 physicians would be available for purely medical and training duties.

<sup>7</sup>The day proof on this article was corrected, Surgeon General Parran issued a call for 50,000 newly trained nurses to meet existing medical needs. The U. S. Public Health Service, under a recent Congressional appropriation, is authorized to spend \$1,250,000 in the training of these additional nurses.

## OCCUPATION AND EDUCATION IN A DEMOCRACY

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IN RECENT years leaders in higher education have turned their thoughts, possibly more than in previous decades, to the function which education performs as a channel for occupational circulation. They have emphasized that occupational distribution of population in accordance with individual ability is basic to democracy. Speaking before the Milbank Fund, some months ago, President Frank P. Graham of the University of North Carolina stated that, "the main test of equality today is through the schoolhouse door." President James B. Conant of Harvard in his annual report a

year ago recognized the current relevance of education to the ladder of opportunity and regretted that "we allow large numbers of promising young men to drop out of the educational process because of insufficiency of their parents' incomes."

In view of this interest in education as a means to occupational advancement, it is appropriate to consider to what extent occupational circulation has taken place in the medium of the college for some decades past. The data which are here offered for consideration pertain to 3,268 graduates of Harvard College at four different points in the period 1880-1925.

At each point two graduating classes were combined to give a sufficient number of cases for statistical treatment. Our original plan called for combining the Class of 1879 with the Class of 1880 and the inclusion of the Classes of 1909 and 1910 instead of the Classes of 1911 and 1912. A departure from this plan was made in the first instance because all data were not available for the Class of 1879 and in the second because the occupations of the Classes of 1909 and 1910 were still disturbed by the World War in 1919 and 1920. The graduates studied were grouped as follows:

- Class One—Harvard Classes of 1880 and 1881
- Class Two—Harvard Classes of 1894 and 1895
- Class Three—Harvard Classes of 1911 and 1912
- Class Four—Harvard Classes of 1924 and 1925

All data for the study were secured from records of Harvard College or from printed reports of the classes. This accounts for the comparatively small percentage of items classified as "unknown" and indicates a rather high reliability for the data. The person's occupation ten years after graduation was taken as the basis of occupational classification. The occupational categories were determined by classificatory titles employed in the Harvard records. Separation of these into *Business* and *Professions* was based upon intellectual content and upon the motivation which is expected to be primary—e.g., it is expected that a man in production will be motivated principally by profit, but it is expected that a man in medicine will be motivated principally by an interest in his field for its own sake and for its value to humanity.<sup>1</sup> The moving of a son to an occupation different from that of

his father is referred to as occupational circulation or mobility and the passing of occupation from father to son as occupational transmission, in accordance with generally accepted sociological terminology.

Figures on occupational distribution of fathers and sons are presented in Table 1. It is clear that there are disparities between the percentages of fathers and sons in a number of the occupational groups. The figures for total business indicate that in each class business fathers sent more sons to Harvard than returned to the business world. This disparity was largely in the fields of trade and miscellaneous business. Comparison of the distribution of fathers and sons in the various classes reveals that the increase in percentage of fathers who were business men was roughly equal to the increase in percentage of sons entering business. However, the increase in percentage of fathers in this field was rather regular, whereas the increase in sons occurred entirely between Classes Two and Three.<sup>2</sup> The rather constant increase in percentage of fathers is probably attributable in part to an increase in the proportion of fathers devoted to business in the total population of the country.

The increased percentage of graduates entering business may be explained to some extent by selection, i.e., it is possible that in the earlier periods sons of business men who planned to enter business did not go to college in large numbers and that in the later periods they did. This would

<sup>1</sup> In this connection see Talcott Parsons, "Remarks on Education and the Professions," *Int. Jnl. Ethics*, April, 1937. Also James B. Conant, *Report of the President of Harvard University* (1938-39), p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Study of the occupational distribution in the years between 1895 and 1910 disclosed that the increase in proportion of graduates entering business occurred before 1905 and that there was no return to the low percentages found in the period 1880-95. There was little evidence of fluctuation of occupational distribution with the business cycle during this period.



suggest that there was not a change in occupations entered by sons, but merely a change in the selection of those who went to Harvard. If this were the full explanation we would expect to find a similar increase in the percentage of graduates who were sons of fathers in any specific field. Such an increase is observable, but in trade for example it was only from 18.3 percent to 21.2 percent, while the percentage of sons entering rose from 7.5 percent to 14.5 percent. A

feel that it was beneath his dignity to go into business. Also, in this period the value of college training for business began to be recognized. Regarding this Bossard and Dewhurst state, "Coincident with this remarkable expansion of our educational system [1880-1920] has been an equally phenomenal growth of American business. The result was inevitable. Business looked to education to produce the trained personnel which its development and growing responsibilities de-

TABLE I  
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FATHERS AND SONS, BY OCCUPATION

CLASS		PRODUCTION	TRADE	FINANCE	MISC. BUSINESS	TOTAL BUSINESS	LAW	MEDICINE	MINISTRY	COLLEGE TEACHING	OTHER TEACHING	LITERARY	MISC. PROF.	TOTAL PROF.	MISCELLANEOUS	UNKNOWN	LABOR	DECEASED	TOTAL PER CENT	NUMBER OF CASES
I	Fathers	9.1	18.6	6.5	2.0	36.2	14.5	5.6	3.3	1.2	1.5	1.8	3.5	31.4	5.9	4.7	5.0	16.8	100	339
	Sons	8.9	8.5	8.5	2.1	28.0	26.9	12.2	5.9	2.9	9.2	3.3	3.1	63.6	4.6	3.8	0.0	0.0	100	339
II	Fathers	9.3	18.3	8.6	6.3	42.5	8.5	3.4	5.6	1.2	2.1	1.3	3.4	25.5	10.6	9.3	4.6	7.4	100	755
	Sons	8.6	7.5	7.7	1.9	25.7	23.9	8.4	3.6	9.3	10.0	2.4	7.7	65.3	3.2	5.8	0.0	0.0	100	755
III	Fathers	11.0	21.1	10.2	6.4	48.8	9.2	6.2	3.9	1.2	2.5	1.3	5.9	30.3	6.4	2.4	5.2	6.9	100	982
	Sons	14.0	14.5	12.9	3.6	45.0	12.3	5.2	1.8	4.2	4.7	2.4	12.4	43.0	4.4	7.5	0.0	0.0	100	982
IV	Fathers	10.3	22.5	10.3	7.2	50.3	9.5	5.8	2.7	1.5	2.3	1.7	5.7	29.4	4.4	3.6	6.0	6.3	100	1,192
	Sons	11.9	13.3	17.1	2.1	44.5	16.8	7.7	1.6	6.6	5.3	2.9	8.9	49.7	1.5	4.2	0.0	0.0	100	1,192
All	Fathers	10.2	20.7	9.5	6.2	46.6	9.7	5.4	3.7	1.3	2.2	1.5	5.1	28.9	6.6	4.7	5.4	7.8	100	3,268
	Sons	11.5	11.8	12.8	2.5	38.6	18.1	7.6	2.6	6.1	6.6	2.7	9.1	52.8	3.1	5.5	0.0	0.0	100	3,268

similar disparity is found in each of the fields of business, and in total business there was an increase from 25.8 percent of graduates in Class Two to 45.0 percent in Class Three while the increase in business fathers was only from 42.5 percent to 48.8 percent.

Rejecting selection as the principal explanation, there is another possibility which must be considered: in later years the prestige and remuneration of business increased in comparison with the professions, so that an educated man did not

manded."<sup>3</sup> Though selection may be a partial explanation of the increased proportion of graduates entering business, it seems probable that the changing attitudes of college men toward business and of business men toward college education should be regarded as more important.

Considering the professions, we observe that in each class they received more graduates than they contributed. This

<sup>3</sup> J. H. S. Bossard and J. F. Dewhurst, *University Education for Business*, p. 248.

is true of every field except the ministry.<sup>4</sup> However, the excess of sons entering professions over fathers in these fields decreased in the period studied. A decrease is quite pronounced in law, medicine, and in the ministry, though in the ministry it is not large enough to be statistically reliable. In the professions as a whole the drop between Classes One and Four was more than ten percent. This decrease must be explained by the same factors which account for the increased proportion of graduates entering business.

Among the other groups—labor and miscellaneous occupations—certain disparities are worthy of note. Most conspicuous is the fact that in each class about five percent of the fathers are classified as laborers though none of the graduates are so classified. It is also conspicuous that a much larger percentage of fathers than of sons are included in the miscellaneous category. Agriculture is included in this classification, since the number of entrants was small, and it accounts for a large part of the disparity. Of course, in these as in other cases, it may be that some of the graduates who did not report their occupations would properly be classified in these categories. It is equally probable or more probable that some of the fathers whose occupations are not reported would be so classified. However, only if all unreported sons and no unreported fathers belonged in the labor and miscellaneous categories would the percentage of fathers

and sons be equal. This possibility is so remote that it can be disregarded.

In the light of the data presented on distribution, the table on transmission and mobility (Table 2) is easily understandable. In general, transmission was in agreement with the principles enunciated by Chessa and Sorokin.<sup>5</sup> However, the specialized nature of our data—specifically, the fact that our data pertain to college graduates and do not represent a cross section of society—makes the applicability of these principles questionable.

As regards mobility, we observe that there was a large movement from business into professions. Figures not presented here showed that the greatest mobility to professions was among sons of fathers in trade and the smallest among sons of fathers in finance. Since trade was usually small trade during the period under study and in the region from which most of the graduates came (New England), sons of tradesmen probably saw an opportunity to improve their social status and possibly their financial position by going into a profession.

Among the professions there was a mobility to business of 26.4 percent in Class One and an increase to 37.8 percent in Class Four. Figures not presented here indicated that the mobility was about the same from each of the different professions. The increase in mobility to business was in accord with the figures on distribution presented in Table 1.

Of the sons of fathers in labor and miscellaneous occupations it is noted that the mobility was much greater to the professions than to business. Undoubtedly education and the professions served

<sup>4</sup> The number in this category is too small to be statistically reliable, but in every class except the first the recruits are fewer than the fathers. The declining percentage of Harvard graduates entering the ministry has received frequent comment: B. B. Burrit, "Professional Distribution of College and University Graduates," U. S. Bureau of Education, Bulletin 19, 1922. A. L. Lowell, "Universities and Colleges" *Yale Review*, Winter 1934. *Harvard Alumni Bulletin*, May 18, 1934 and January 25, 1935.

<sup>5</sup> F. Chessa, *La Trasmissione Ereditaria della Professioni*, pp. 30-31, 64 and 93.

P. A. Sorokin, *Social Mobility*, pp. 438-39.

as "channels of social circulation," to use Sorokin's expression. In contrast to the situation in business, where prestige is delayed and contingent upon success, the student in training for a profession

business.<sup>6</sup> However, by acceptable performance in college and in a professional school the graduate could assure himself of almost as good an opportunity in a profession as the son of a professional

TABLE 2  
TRANSMISSION AND MOBILITY

	CLASS				
	I	II	III	IV	All
Transmission in Business.....	35.8	35.2	56.1	50.4	47.7
Business to Professions.....	55.4	57.6	34.7	44.4	45.0
Business to Other.....	8.8	7.2	9.2	5.2	7.3
Total per cent.....	100	100	100	100	100
Total Cases.....	123	321	479	599	1,522
Professions to Business.....	26.4	17.1	34.3	37.8	31.2
Transmission in Professions.....	68.0	74.1	52.2	57.4	60.1
Professions to Other.....	5.6	8.8	13.5	4.8	8.7
Total per cent.....	100	100	100	100	100
Total Cases.....	106	193	297	350	946
Labor to Business.....	17.7	14.3	29.4	30.5	25.7
Labor to Professions.....	76.4	77.2	58.8	61.2	65.1
Labor to Other.....	5.9	8.5	11.8	8.3	9.2
Total per cent.....	100	100	100	100	100
Total Cases.....	17	35	51	72	175
Miscellaneous to Business.....	25.0	16.2	31.7	30.1	25.0
Miscellaneous to Professions.....	70.0	70.0	46.0	58.5	60.0
Miscellaneous to Other.....	5.0	13.8	22.3	11.4	15.0
Total per cent.....	100	100	100	100	100
Total Cases.....	93	206	155	171	625
Total to Business.....	28.0	25.8	45.0	44.5	38.6
Total to Profession.....	63.5	65.2	43.0	49.7	52.7
Total to Other.....	8.5	9.0	12.0	5.8	8.7
Total per cent.....	100	100	100	100	100
Total Cases.....	339	755	982	1,192	3,268

enjoys a degree of prestige. Moreover, sons of fathers in the categories mentioned would, in most cases, not have connections which would make entry into business easy. Nor would a college degree greatly facilitate entry into or advancement in

man. Education and practice of a profession offered the son of a laborer or

<sup>6</sup> It is observable that as a college education came to be recognized as an asset in business, an increasing proportion of sons of fathers in labor and miscellaneous occupations entered business.



farmer a social position which he might never achieve in business and a standard of living which he could hope to achieve only after some years of work.

In a study of mobility the status of the father, as well as his occupational field, is important. As an indication of status of the fathers in the larger categories

graduates which the professions received from business were not sons of educated fathers in as large a percentage of cases as were those who stayed in business—35.6 percent of these graduates who entered professions were sons of fathers with only an elementary education while only 21.8 percent of these graduates who entered

TABLE 3  
OCCUPATIONAL ORIGINS AND EDUCATION OF FATHERS  
(Classes III and IV Combined)

	BUSINESS FATHERS			PROFESSIONAL FATHERS			OTHER FATHERS		
	Bus. Sons	Prof. Sons	Other Sons	Bus. Sons	Prof. Sons	Other Sons	Bus. Sons	Prof. Sons	Other Sons
Elementary.....	21.8	35.6	44.1	1.3	3.1	3.5	32.7	38.7	30.8
High.....	43.9	38.4	26.0	7.2	10.4	7.0	28.0	23.2	26.9
College.....	28.2	17.6	23.4	87.9	83.3	84.2	14.3	13.1	25.0
Unknown.....	6.1	8.3	6.5	3.4	3.1	5.3	25.0	24.0	17.3
Total percent.....	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.
No. cases.....	569	432	77	234	356	57	168	229	52

This table shows the percentage of graduates in each category who were sons of fathers in each educational category. For example, 21.8 percent of the business sons of business fathers were sons of fathers with only an elementary education. Data on education of fathers were not available for the earlier classes; accordingly, the totals here do not agree with those in other tables.

TABLE 4  
OCCUPATIONAL ORIGINS AND PREPARATORY EDUCATION OF SONS  
(Four Classes Combined)

	BUSINESS FATHERS			PROFESSIONAL FATHERS			OTHER FATHERS		
	Bus. Sons	Prof. Sons	Other Sons	Bus. Sons	Prof. Sons	Other Sons	Bus. Sons	Prof. Sons	Other Sons
Public.....	34.4	47.3	33.8	34.5	31.7	21.0	37.7	42.2	21.3
Private.....	50.4	34.5	51.5	58.4	52.5	61.8	43.8	30.3	35.2
Transfers.....	14.2	17.6	14.8	6.8	14.9	17.2	12.2	23.0	35.0
Unknown.....	1.0	.6	.9	.3	.9	—	6.3	4.5	8.5
Total percent.....	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.
No. cases.....	728	685	109	295	570	81	238	468	94

The "transfer" classification is not regarded as being significant but is included so that all cases will be accounted for.

(business and the professions), we secured data on the education of fathers and the type of preparatory education provided for sons. The figures presented in Table 3 indicate that the movement from business to professions, and vice-versa, was not independent of fathers' education.<sup>7</sup> The

business were so classified. Also, the graduates which business received from professions and from the category of other occupations were sons of better educated fathers in a slightly larger percentage of cases than those retained or received by

<sup>7</sup> Analysis by classes of the data presented in this and the following table indicated that relationships

were similar in each of the classes. To simplify presentation the classes are combined.

the professions. If education of the father is associated with family position and family wealth, as seems probable, it is clear that business attracted a larger percentage of graduates from families of higher status and the professions received more from families lower in these scales.

The same tendency is observed in the table on preparatory education. For example, among sons of business fathers only 34.4 percent of those who remained in business were prepared in public schools as compared with 47.3 percent of those who shifted to professions. Correspondingly, 50.4 percent of those who remained in business were prepared in private schools as compared with 34.4 percent of those who entered professions. Among sons of professional fathers and fathers in other occupations there was the same trend. Privately prepared graduates, who were undoubtedly higher in the socio-economic scale, gravitated toward business.

As regards sons of business men, these figures indicate that the sons of less educated fathers shifted to professions much more than sons of better educated fathers; also, that business men's sons who were publicly prepared for college shifted to professions much more than those privately prepared. It is clear that the sons of lesser business men—i.e., those lower in economic and social position—shifted to the professions more than sons of business men of higher position. Regarding sons of professional men, we noted that those who shifted to business were sons of better educated fathers in a larger percentage of cases than those who stayed in the professions, and that those who shifted to business were privately prepared for college in a larger percentage of cases. Apparently the connections of higher class professional men afforded

business opportunities for their sons and they were not reluctant to avail themselves of these opportunities. Though the category of "other fathers"—including those in labor, agriculture, miscellaneous occupations and occupation unknown—is a heterogenous group, it is significant that on each of the indices the shifting of the sons of these fathers to business and the professions is in line with the shifts observed between the two fields. Larger proportions of graduates of higher status shifted to business and larger proportions of those of lower status shifted to professions. This and the facts presented on the other occupational categories reveal certain general findings which are summarized in our conclusions.

#### CONCLUSIONS

1. There were considerable disparities in the occupational distribution of fathers and sons. Most significant of these was the consistently larger percentage of sons than of father in professions.

2. Business retained or received larger proportions of graduates who were sons of families of higher social status than did the professions.

3. The professions were intermediate in the social scale; they received larger proportions of sons of families of lower status and sent a larger proportion of their own "upper class" into business.

4. For sons of fathers in labor and miscellaneous occupations the college provided a medium in which they could advance to occupational and social positions above those of their fathers; a large majority entered the professions.

5. In general, it may be said that in the forty years studied Harvard College assisted to an extent the function of social circulation, which many educators feel should be further facilitated.

## LIBRARY AND WORKSHOP

Special feature reviews, briefer comment, and announcements

### INDEX TO BOOKS REVIEWED

Johnson and Others' STATISTICAL ATLAS OF SOUTHERN COUNTIES.....	Margaret Jarman Hagood	116
Barnes, Becker, and Becker's CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL THEORY.....	Warner E. Gettys	117
Leopold's ROBERT DALE OWEN.....	Ernest R. Groves	118
Mims' CHANCELLOR KIRKLAND OF VANDERBILT.....	Harry F. Comer	119
De Poincins' KABLOONA.....	Fred Eggan	119
White's PIONEERS IN AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGY. THE BANDELIER-MORGAN LETTERS, 1873-1883.....	Guy B. Johnson	120
Georgia Writer's Project's DRUMS AND SHADOWS.....	George Herzog	120
Gilmore's THE BEGGAR.....	Loren C. Eiseley	121
Healy and Alper's CRIMINAL YOUTH AND THE BORSTAL SYSTEM.....	Wiley B. Sanders	122
Carr's DELINQUENCY CONTROL.....	W. F. Bailey	123
American Association of School Administrators' NINETEENTH YEARBOOK—EDUCATION FOR FAMILY LIFE.....	Ernest R. Groves	124
Folsom's YOUTH, FAMILY, AND EDUCATION.....	Donald S. Klaiss	125
Gist and Halbert's URBAN SOCIETY.....	Hope Tisdale	126
Walker's THE PLANNING FUNCTION IN URBAN GOVERNMENT.....	John Ivey, Jr.	127
Truman's ADMINISTRATIVE DECENTRALIZATION.....	Harvey Pinney	128
Demaree's THE AMERICAN AGRICULTURAL PRESS, 1819-1860.....	S. H. Hobbs, Jr.	128
Jenkins' GROWTH AND DECLINE OF AGRICULTURAL VILLAGES.....	Vincent H. Whitney	129
Spiegel's LAND TENURE POLICIES.....	Paul W. Wager	130
Strelesky's SALTYKOV AND THE RUSSIAN SQUIRE.....	Alice Davis	131
Hohman's OLD AGE IN SWEDEN.....	William C. Smith	132
New Books Received.....		133

STATISTICAL ATLAS OF SOUTHERN COUNTIES: LISTING AND ANALYSIS OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC INDICES OF 1104 SOUTHERN COUNTIES. By Charles S. Johnson and Associates: Lewis W. Jones, Buford H. Junker, Eli S. Marks, and Preston Valien; Consultants: Edw'n R. Embree and W. Lloyd Warner. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1941. 355 pp. \$4.00. Tables and Maps.

When the Rosenwald financed Council on Rural Education began an exploration of the rural school in the South, the need for a compilation of social and economic data by counties became apparent. This Atlas is the result of the labors of Dr. Johnson and a special committee of the Council

to meet that need not only for the Council, but for all students of the region.

Because of the interest of the compilers, there is emphasis on race and education in the selection of the data compiled. Of the 51 indices tabulated for each county, 20 can be classified as relating to Negroes and 17 as relating to education (an overlapping classification.) Although the more general user of the Atlas might prefer a substitution of other indices for certain of the racial and educational, nevertheless, he will find in exceedingly convenient form a fairly wide range of indices on population,



educational, literacy, economic, and other characteristics. With a few exceptions these indices are listed for every county of every state of Howard W. Odum's Southeast plus Maryland and a part of Texas.

The major contribution of the volume is this convenient tabulation by counties of the data, most of which are taken from the census, although there are some from less easily available sources. The second contribution is a typing of the counties of the South by dominant crop, by diversity of crops, and by extent of industrialization and urbanization. Variations in these three factors are represented by letters and numerals, and the composite symbol designating type is shown for each county in both maps and tables. The third contribution, comprising a considerable proportion of the 39 pages devoted to the text proper, is an analysis of two types of counties—cotton and metropolitan. With correlation coefficients, contrasting percentages, medians, and other statistical summarizing devices, the association of various indices of race discrimination with the plantation derived cotton culture is adequately demonstrated. Less familiar, perhaps, is the contrasting statistical description of the situation in southern metropolitan counties.

These contributions are valuable regardless of the point of time to which they relate. However, their value in planning for current problems is somewhat diminished by the fact that they are based on data mainly for 1930 or previous years. It is to be hoped that the authors and their sponsoring foundation will provide in a year or so a companion volume giving comparable data on a 1940 basis.

MARGARET JARMAN HAGOOD

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CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL THEORY. By Harry Elmer Barnes, Howard Becker, and Frances Bennett

Becker. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1940. 947 pp. \$5.00.

It is impossible to do justice to this book in a review supposed to be limited to five hundred words. About all that a reviewer can do under such circumstances is to confine his comments to a few broad generalizations and still fewer specific criticisms.

Composed of twenty-three articles, written by nineteen specialists, this symposium, despite the diversity of subject matter and unevenness in treatment, is the best book to date on recent developments in sociological theory and its historic antecedents and its natural and social science connections. Although the belief expressed by the editors in their Preface to the effect that "rather than a random collection of disjointed essays, the reader is here presented with a logically organized and well-unified treatment" is not fully justified, and although their hope that this volume "ought to constitute the ideal classroom textbook for the advanced course in the principles of sociology offered to upperclassmen and graduate students" is not likely to be realized, yet it can be said with the editors "that it is as yet the only work of its kind in English."

As stated, no detailed consideration of all the contributions to this symposium can be undertaken in a brief review. Consequently this reviewer has classified the articles into three groups according to his judgment of their respective merits.

Generally notable for their incisiveness, lucidity, and comprehensiveness and integration of pertinent subject matter are the chapters on "the development of sociology" and "criminology and penology" by Barnes, the latter chapter in collaboration with J. P. Shalloo; the chapters on "constructive typology in the social sciences" and "historical sociology" by Howard Becker; and chapters by W. W. Howells on "physical determination of

race," by Kimball Young and D. W. Oberdorfer on "psychological studies of social processes," and by Talcott Parsons on "sociological elements in economic thought." Equally notable for their deficiencies of one sort or another, including diffuseness, "fuzziness," and uncritical qualities are chapters by Barnes on "the new history, archeology and cultural evolution" and "physical anthropology;" by Eubank on "the conceptual approach to sociology"; by H. O. Dahlke on "the sociology of knowledge"; and by Goldenweiser on "the relation of the natural sciences to the social sciences" and "some contributions of psychoanalysis to the interpretation of social facts."

Other chapters are reasonably adequate but not outstanding accounts of statistics, by Lundberg; anthropogeography, by Franklin Thomas; human ecology, by Quinn; demography and human biology, by Hankins; contributions of anthropology to social theory, by Goldenweiser; political thought, by Barnes; jurisprudence, by William Seagle; social work, by Philip Klein; education, by Roucek; and religion and ethics, by Melvin J. Williams.

Valuable bibliographies, partially annotated, are appended to most of the chapters, and are supplemented by a classified bibliographical appendix, prepared by C. Wright Mills. A few errors in the Appendix should be noted, as, for example, "Rossow" should be "Rossouw, G. S. H." (p. 897), "Sample, E. C." should be "Semple, E. C." (p. 910), "Vance, B. V." should be "Vance, R. B." (p. 910).

WARNER E. GETTYS

*University of Texas*

ROBERT DALE OWEN. *A Biography*. By Richard William Leopold. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1940. 470 pp. \$4.50.

This life of Robert Dale Owen seems likely to be the definitive biography of a

career that has meaning not only for the historian but also for those interested in the advance of woman's status in the United States. Although overshadowed by his more famous father, Robert Dale Owen in his own right has a place in the annals of American reform. If he had less genius than his illustrious father, it is only fair to insist that he had more balance and because of this his social contributions, although less spectacular, were the more constructive. Like his father he had a versatility which, even if it added to his usefulness, certainly lessened his reputation.

In the early twenties he came to this country and immediately had great responsibility thrust upon him as one of the governing group of the new communistic community which his father had established at New Harmony, Indiana. His experience at New Harmony put an end to his confidence in the socialistic program for which he had enthusiastically worked. His disillusionment was not, however, spread outside the area of the great experiment. He merely transferred his interests and carried on along other lines of reform but with a sobered disposition and more discernment. His friendship with Frances Wright was a creative influence and more than anything else directed his attention toward the interests of women. At first he was chiefly her disciple substituting for her at free-thought lectures, but after her marriage and especially his own their one time friendship melted away.

The biographer has rightly stressed Robert Owen's most significant social services through the designation "the Western Democrat." In both state and national politics he faithfully reflected the Mid-Western striving for a more democratic social order. Robert Owen's program for the development of the Smithsonian Institute met defeat because it was

too democratic. No one did as much as he to help the Institute that was finally established to function successfully. Although Owen felt keenly his failure to get the legal equality of married women recognized by the Indiana Constitution, his pioneering effort to make husbands and wives equal before the law now appears as the high mark of his public service. In any case, he has chief credit for a liberal constitution under which Indiana has carried on for more than a century. His written contract signed by himself and his wife at the time of their marriage was not only far in advance of the thinking of his time, but even today would seem to most men and women unconventional.

The author's appendix listing the writings of Robert Dale Owen and recording the bibliography upon which the book is based adds greatly to the value of this careful, discriminating record of one of America's most interesting social reformers.

ERNEST R. GROVES

*University of North Carolina*

CHANCELLOR KIRKLAND OF VANDERBILT. By Edwin Mims. Nashville, Tennessee: Vanderbilt University Press, 1940. 362 pp. \$3.00. Illustrated.

It is eminently fitting that the first book to be published by the Vanderbilt University Press should be *Chancellor Kirkland of Vanderbilt*. It is equally appropriate that it should be written by Edwin Mims who was so long and intimately associated with Chancellor Kirkland and the fields of his work and accomplishments.

Dr. Mims was fortunate indeed to have as his subject a life which so completely covered the lean years of Reconstruction in the South, the struggle for educational opportunities, the crusade for higher educational standards and academic freedom, and the culmination of all these efforts in the nurture and building of Vanderbilt

University. Yet this is no mere memorial volume. It is in the truest sense a life-like portrayal of the man and his age. It is vibrant with challenge to educational standards toward which the best leaders of today still strive.

In a very real sense the life of Dr. Kirkland is a history of education in his region, on the secondary as well as on the higher education level. Dr. Mims has ably portrayed the Man and in so doing has given educators a sustaining and inspiring book.

HARRY F. COMER

*University of North Carolina*

KABLOONA. By Gontran de Poncins. In collaboration with Lewis Galantière. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, Inc., 1941. 339 pp. \$3.00. Illustrated.

Here is that rare book about a primitive people which actually penetrates beneath the surface of casual observations and attempts to understand native life and thought. One day in 1939, the author, then in Paris, decided to visit the Eskimo in the region of the Magnetic Pole, to the end of regaining some perspective and peace of mind. Thanks to such modern "magic carpets" as the airplane and motorboat, he landed a few months later on King Williams Land and began his journey into the mental and cultural world of the Eskimo.

That journey makes exciting reading. To enter the mental world of another people requires one to subordinate his interests sufficiently to enter that world on its own terms. On the subsistence level everyone in the north, whether priest, trader, or trapper, takes on Eskimo culture by sheer necessity. M. de Poncins attempted a further step—to think and feel like an Eskimo. The account of his gradual transition from a *Kabloona* (white man) to an "Eskimo" is one of the most interesting this reviewer has read.



For the social scientist there is rich material on certain aspects of Eskimo life usually ignored or taken for granted in conventional treatments: the force and character of the seasons, the economies of trading-post life and the reactions to white values, and the mores of wife-lending and murder. All these are presented in contexts which make the behavior meaningful, and with vivid character sketches of the natives and whites involved.

While the author has occasionally gone too far in putting thoughts in the minds of his companions, *Kabloona* gives us an authentic feeling for native Eskimo life, and as such deserves a place beside the accounts of the late Knud Rasmussen.

FRED EGGAN

*University of Chicago*

PIONEERS IN AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGY. THE BANDELIER-MORGAN LETTERS, 1873-1883. Two Volumes (Coronado Bandelier Series). By Leslie A. White. Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1940. Volume I, 271 pp; Volume II, 266 pp. \$10.00 per set.

This publication is one in a series commemorating the Coronado Cuarto Centennial. Adolph F. Bandelier, historian and pioneer in the ethnology of Mexico and the Southwest, was a remarkable man. Born in Switzerland, but reared in a drab little Illinois town, he was pursuing an uninteresting business career until his scholarly avocational interest in aboriginal American culture led him to an acquaintanceship with Lewis H. Morgan. He was thirty-three when he met Morgan in 1873. Thereafter he worked like mad under the inspiration of "the master," all the while chafing under business worries and family cares. Not until 1880 did he have an opportunity to take a field trip and actually see some of the places and people he had studied and written about so zealously for a decade. Thus at the age of forty he launched in earnest into his

true career and produced an amazing amount of research.

From 1873 until Morgan's death in 1883, Bandelier kept in constant touch with Morgan. His letters to Morgan, 163 in number—and these are probably not all—are the subject of these two volumes which Professor White has edited. Bandelier wrote some short notes, but most of his letters were long—some in excess of 3,000 words—and they contained detailed accounts of his researches, sources, hunches, conclusions, etc., to say nothing of purely personal and domestic affairs.

Although these letters are valuable for the insight they give into Bandelier's professional development, they seem to the reviewer to be useful primarily for study of the personality of this remarkable man. A psychiatrist would enjoy them immensely. Professor White has labored diligently and has enriched the documents with numerous footnotes. His introductory section of about 100 pages in Volume I in which he sketches Bandelier's life and work is a masterpiece of succinct biographical writing.

The only serious weakness of the work is the absence of letters from Morgan to Bandelier. One gets too much of the feeling of listening to one side of a telephone conversation. Unfortunately the letters from Morgan were not available for use.

GUY B. JOHNSON

*University of North Carolina*

DRUMS AND SHADOWS. Survival Studies among the Georgia Coastal Negroes. Savannah Unit Georgia Writers' Project, Works Progress Administration. Foreword by Guy B. Johnson. Photographs by Muriel and Malcom Bell, Jr. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1940. 274 pp. 24 plates. \$3.00.

The Georgia Writers' Project, under the editorship of Miss Mary Granger, District Supervisor, has produced a refreshingly readable compilation of data on the coastal

Negroes of Georgia. The book is based on interviews with old inhabitants, many of whom remembered relatives and acquaintances born in Africa. This material has been woven into a continuity in which individual interview and interviewer disappear—a procedure that makes for readability but has its drawbacks too.

The Sea Islands have been less exposed to an intensive acculturation process than the rest of our Negro population, and consequently have retained more African culture traits, as may be seen from the studies of Guy B. Johnson, Elsie C. Parsons, Reed Smith, T. J. Woofter, Jr., and others. To locate African survivals was apparently the main interest of the project, and copious notes on African parallels are given in the Appendix. It is regrettable that White and European parallels are not indicated, so that, unless the reader has a fair knowledge of folklore, survivals, and African ethnology, he is left with an exaggerated picture of African culture on the Georgia coast. Some of the phenomena that are stressed in the book are almost universal: for example, belief in witchcraft and ghosts, root-doctoring, and offerings at the grave. Side by side with these, however, appear true discoveries, such as the use (as recently as a generation ago) of African type drums, palm wine, the eating of palm "heart," and the survival to this day of personal or family food taboos and wood carving.

The readability of the book is somewhat impaired by the attempt to reproduce Negro pronunciation after the fashion of dialect writers, which at times leaves the reader puzzled. Weighed against the wealth of new material the book offers, however, and the immediate glimpses of Africana on United States soil, its weaker points are negligible and the Project may well be complimented on a pleasant

volume. Many of the pictures are outstanding.

GEORGE HERZOG

*Columbia University*

THE BEGGAR. By Harlan W. Gilmore. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1940. 235 pp. \$2.50.

The beggar is a subject of perennial fascination for literature. As a wanderer on the byroads of the world he has survived the fall of civilizations and dynasties. Equipped with a few simple tricks and sad tales he has always ridden successfully the storm of change. He has done so by exploiting the pity and the social conscience of his fellows, their religiosity and their vague fears of injuring their "luck" by appearing ungenerous and mean. Like other forms of delinquency beggary may be perpetuated as a social pattern from one generation to another and is as difficult to eliminate as prostitution, sharing with the latter a covert social recognition.

Dr. Gilmore has attempted a survey of this parasitic development within society and has produced in the process a book which because of its poised and lucid style should attract considerable popular as well as professional interest. He ventures into the earlier history of the subject, showing its promotion by the medieval church through the development of the begging friar. He notes the types of begging, its specialization in the city world, and the profits to be derived from practising the art. He seeks to ascertain the types of individuals who succumb to the beggar's life. Throughout the work is documented with material culled from a variety of sources, some of which are more reliable than others.

In spite of a final chapter in which widespread unemployment and other modern problems are noted as affecting the problem, the book as a whole gives an oddly

timeless effect, as though a series of interesting phenomena were being viewed through the wrong end of a telescope or some other place just a little remote from Hooverville and the bread line. Perhaps this is because a number of Dr. Gilmore's admittedly interesting anecdotes are derived from 19th and early 20th century material. Perhaps also he has chosen to emphasize the type of the professional mendicant in order to avoid a too diffuse approach to the subject. Nevertheless the mass movements of the depression years, the breaking down of class barriers in the submerged levels of society, the effects of national relief and the WPA all affect the problem of the beggar in ways more vital than academic.

This quiet and urbane little volume deserves a place on the shelves of all who love the literature of the rogue and find some vicarious escape in reading about him. But the story of the beggar in the seething world of change that now confronts us is sadder than that of the deliberate cheat and mendicant. It is the agony of many lives at present inarticulate and for whom no one has spoken in the fully rounded fashion of great art.

LOREN C. EISELEY

*University of Kansas*

**CRIMINAL YOUTH AND THE BORSTAL SYSTEM.** By William Healy and Benedict S. Alper. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1941. 251 pp. \$1.50.

A short while ago much emphasis was given to the failure of the juvenile courts and the training schools to reclaim delinquent boys and girls under sixteen years of age. At present the interest seems to have shifted to the next older group—youthful offenders from sixteen to twenty-one years of age, usually confined in prisons and reformatories. This study of criminal youth points out the weaknesses in general of the reformatory training program in the

United States, and presents in considerable detail the English or Borstal System of handling youthful offenders, many phases of which are pointed out as being worthy of our imitation.

When Elmira Reformatory was established in 1876, for youthful offenders and young adults, with its emphasis on an indeterminate sentence, and with a program of training and education substituted for punishment, high hopes were held for the reformation of this age group. These hopes have not been realized. Recent studies of Elmira and of the Massachusetts Reformatory at Concord indicate that approximately eighty percent of the inmates commit further crimes upon release. American state reformatories are too large (the average population of twenty-five reformatories for men was 1,100) for individualized treatment; they do not limit their intake to youthful offenders; their classification system is inadequate; the personnel is relatively untrained, and uninspiring; and in general the institutions are conducted as ordinary prisons. Likewise, the parole supervision is inadequate, as is evidenced by the fact that in Massachusetts, according to the Gluecks, in fifty-three percent of the cases "the parolee himself was not once personally visited in the entire parole period."

After this rather gloomy sketch of reformatory methods in the United States let us consider England's method of handling young adult offenders.

In 1895 a Departmental Committee on Prisons in England called attention to the fact that a large number of youths between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one passed through the prisons every year, of whom many came out worse than they were when they went in. Shortly after this, the experiment was begun of segregating the "juvenile adult" prisoners in a wing of the prison at Borstal (Rochester), and in



1902 the entire institution was devoted to an intensive program of "hard work, strict discipline, tempered by contrivances of reward, encouragement and hope" for this age group. It was soon realized that supervision of those released into the community from Borstal was just as important as the training program within the institution. "Accordingly, an organization known as the Borstal Association was formed in 1904 under private sponsorship to provide the necessary parole oversight. This Association has, from the beginning, been subsidized by the Home Office to the extent of ninety percent of its budget."

By the summer of 1939 there were in England and Wales nine Borstal training institutions for young men and one for young women. Five of these institutions for men were walled or partially enclosed, while four of them were entirely open. For the first fifteen years the Borstal institutions were quite similar to prisons, in appearance as well as in administration. More recently they have taken on many of the features of a preparatory school, and every effort has been made to develop initiative and self-reliance on the part of the inmates. While the statutory limit of Borstal control is four years (usually three years in the institution and one on parole) there is considerable flexibility in the institutional programs. One institution has a fixed period of fifteen months detention in the institution, while others have a longer though indeterminate period. This experimental attitude is one of the principal features of the Borstal System, and contrasts markedly with the lock-step routine of American reformatories.

Another secret of success of the Borstal system is the high degree of classification made possible by the variety of institutions. A judge can not commit a youth to a particular Borstal institution. The boy

is first sent to an observation center for about a month, where he is studied and observed, etc., and then he is allocated to the institution believed best suited to his needs and assets. The treatment, therefore, is highly individualized, with wide variations in the extremes of physical restraint and freedom allowed.

Other desirable features of the system of Borstal training are the "complete economic security" of the personnel, including sick benefits, pensions and retirement allowances; wage payments to the boys for their labor; distinction between housemasters and disciplinary officers; use of matrons in the cottages; emphasis on trade training; lack of repressive discipline; home visits allowed the boys for good behavior; intense and sympathetic parole supervision, etc.

It is a matter of deep regret that after war was declared in 1939 many of the Borstal institutions were closed or transferred to other services. We heartily concur in the hope expressed by Borstal officials, "that somewhere else, perhaps in the United States" the principles and practices developed over a period of forty years might be reconstituted so all that has been learned and done for criminal youth would not be forfeited.

WILEY B. SANDERS

*University of North Carolina*

DELINQUENCY CONTROL. By Lowell Julliard Carr. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1941. 447 pp. \$3.50. Illustrated.

That the root of virtually all adult criminal behavior can be traced either directly or indirectly to juvenile delinquency is convincingly presented in *Delinquency Control*. This book is challenging in that Dr. Carr argues that youth is delinquent primarily because the society in which youth is living, is in itself delinquent in not offering youth an opportunity to

escape from the very delinquency that surrounds it on every hand.

Strikingly different from most treatises on the subject of juvenile delinquency, Dr. Carr's volume not only analyzes the problems of juvenile delinquency, but offers procedures and experiences that helped solve those problems. Besides being a sound presentation of the theory of correction, the author's most recent writing strikes at the causative factors with a cure. The book is impressive in that it comes from the field and laboratory rather than a digest of commonly accepted practices and theories in juvenile delinquency.

The richness of Dr. Carr's philosophy, nurtured in a convincing knowledge of literature, history, Bible, religion, and even a touch of economics, is evidenced by his practical and understandable approach to the problems of juvenile delinquency, and the natural course of events in his well-ordered mind indicate at least partially what can be done in that field by using the same methods. Underlying every word, page and chapter is always the thought that juvenile delinquency is the major cause of crime, and that the extinction of that problem will offer a virtual solution to adult crime within the span of the rising generation and the generation that is going.

The author describes in minute detail his meaning when he says that the basic idea in the solution of the juvenile problem can be achieved by using: (1) scientific research; (2) a technique that is tried and true; (3) a working knowledge of the art of social action; (4) a usable idea of the art of social organization. This is in some measure his method in eliminating what he says is the "broadest gateway to crime"—juvenile delinquency.

Often Dr. Carr refers to the value of a strong and active recreation system, both to the community and to the child. He

underscores the argument of diverting juveniles from circumstances conducive to crime into the channels of fair play and sportsmanship.

However, Dr. Carr doesn't offer a panacea for the juvenile problem. He offers everything that he has been able to experience and read on the subject, but he cautions that "the good life will never be ready-made." He stimulates the reader with the thought questions at the end of each chapter, and those queries are perhaps indicative of the penetrating and thorough nature of the author, who could never be suspected of being anything but an alive and intellectually alert scholar, student, and laboratory technician in his field.

One gains the impression that Dr. Carr is a "modern"—modern in that he is apparently acquainted with even the most recent social trend or suggestion. And the brilliant bibliography ranges from the earliest attempts to catalogue juvenile delinquency in the social pattern until 1940, to which should be added this latest addition to an expanding field of social work.

To say that Dr. Carr is timely would be merely another term for saying that the pace does not leave Dr. Carr, but Dr. Carr perhaps sets the pace. For instance, he says, "In a national emergency (1940) it involves the organization of a community life to protect the American way of life . . . meanwhile a national emergency has revealed a new importance in a broad scientific attack on delinquency control." And Dr. Carr will more than likely be the first to approach the more critical problems caused by a more critical period, which explains the attitude and content of *Delinquency Control*.

W. F. BAILEY

*Juvenile Court, High Point, North Carolina*

EDUCATION FOR FAMILY LIFE. Nineteenth Yearbook.  
Washington, D. C.: American Association of

School Administrators, 1941. 368 pp. \$2.00. Illustrated.

The appearance of *Education for Family Life* is eventful in registering a recognition of the social responsibilities of schools and colleges only possible within the last decade. Nothing about the book is so remarkable as that it could take the form it has and have the assurance of being well received by American educators. Although briefly and simply stated, it expresses the philosophy of education for family life and reveals how basic this is in the functioning of our schools and colleges if they are to make their just contribution to the maintaining of the American way of life. This service of the family is indispensable if our present feeling of individual responsibility and significance is to continue. The reason for this appears persuasively summarized in the following:

As organisms we exist in the natural world of geographical space; as members of society we carry on our activities in the cultural world we have been taught to recognize and accept as essential to participation in that group life. But as individual personalities we live in a private world of the idiomatic means, significances, ideas, beliefs, and above all, of the peculiar personal feelings and emotional reactions which each of us during childhood has developed toward people and situations. Just as the social and cultural world is organized according to the traditional patterns imposed upon each new generation by its predecessors, so the private world of each personality is organized out of the experiences of being culturized, socialized, and disciplined by the family. The amazing variety of human personalities and the conduct and feelings that each individual exhibits arise from these personal 'private worlds' in which each one lives.

The book, however, does not content itself with emphasis of the strategic social importance of the family; it also makes clear the implications of educational preparation as a means of making good use of the domestic opportunities offered by marriage and parenthood. The content of the book shows that it is a product of inte-

grated specialization. Not only did its authors bring their special knowledge and experience to the undertaking; they also accomplished what is rare in such interpretations, a unity and consistency of expression that submerges any suggestion of individual contribution. This oneness of impression can be chiefly credited to the coordinating skill of Frank W. Hubbard, Director of the Research Division of the National Education Association.

Not only will this book interest the teacher and school administrator and stimulate their thinking, it will also prove valuable for practical suggestions as to how its philosophy of domestic preparedness can be translated into various types of educational seminars, helping both the individual and the community to gain greater values from the opportunities of marriage and parent-child association.

The book has avoided the mishap of a formidable and repellent style, a frequent fault of productions coming from a symposium of academic specialists. It even contains a consistency of style which was remarkable taking into account its method of composition. Although an information-bringing book, it has nothing that smacks of the compilation-type of book built upon questionnaire responses differing greatly, due to the hazards of the way they have to be gathered, in the factual reliability and pertinence.

ERNEST R. GROVES

*University of North Carolina*

YOUTH, FAMILY, AND EDUCATION. By Joseph K. Folsom. With sections by Winifred E. Bain and Ellen Miller. Prepared for the American Youth Commission. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1941. 299 pp. \$1.75.

This book is primarily a report of the means and methods of education for family life now being used throughout the United States. The emphasis on this type of edu-



cation has increased markedly within the last few years, so that it is altogether a good thing that a survey of the past and present should be made and published. Many people have been wondering just what is the nature and extent of family education on the various levels of instruction. This book attempts to answer that question.

Part I, Education for Family Living, presents the educational and sociological backgrounds out of which has grown the conviction that education for living within the family is in accord with contemporary trends in education and is a practical necessity for the well-being of American social life. The statements in this connection are clearly and forcefully presented.

Part II gives Present-Day Practice and Problems. It includes work offered by nursery, elementary, and high schools, colleges, social group work organizations, family case work and family counseling agencies, community, state and national programs. A tremendous mass of information is brought together.

Some question arises in my mind with respect to the complete validity of the material in the light of that portion with which I am most familiar, the work done at the University of North Carolina. The statement is a true presentation of what was done in 1936 or 1937, but so many changes have taken place since then that it hardly gives an accurate description of what is going on today. Since the developments in this whole area of education are taking place so rapidly, one wonders if this volume presents an up-to-date account.

With this reservation, Dr. Folsom has given us a very useful and timely book.

DONALD S. KLAISS

*University of North Carolina*

URBAN SOCIETY. Second Edition. By Noel P. Gist and L. A. Halbert. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1941. 629 pp. \$3.50.

The new edition of *Urban Society* takes full advantage of the multiplication of urban material which has occurred since the first edition appeared in 1933. The text is well stocked with citations, illustrations, and summaries derived from recent research. In the preface, the authors state that "the research materials have made possible a degree of refinement and maturity of sociological theory that did not exist a decade ago." In *Urban Society*, this maturity emerges, not so much as a more definitely formulated and integrated theoretical system, but rather as a rejection of some of the earlier theories and the adoption of a more cautious tone toward others.

The plan of the book is essentially the same as that of the first edition. There has been some revision of subject sequence in the interest of pertinence and logic. A few chapters have been omitted and several added, but this represents a rearrangement of emphasis and elaboration rather than an exclusion or introduction of major subject matter. Among the new offerings are an interesting discussion of ancient cities, an examination of preliminary 1940 census reports on certain city populations, presentations of various urban aspects of the New Deal, and a chapter on housing.

The format of the new volume is an improvement over the old. The pages are larger and the spacing better, making it mechanically easier to read. A number of full-page photographs of urban subjects are a welcome addition. Many of the tables, maps and diagrams are new. The text is generously footnoted and the references listed at the end of each chapter add up to an excellent bibliography of urbanism and related subjects.

*Urban Society* is perhaps the most thoroughgoing synthesis of urban materials to

date. It will no doubt find ready place as a standard textbook of urban sociology.

HOPE TISDALE

*University of North Carolina*

THE PLANNING FUNCTION IN URBAN GOVERNMENT.

By Robert A. Walker. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941. 376 pp. \$3.00.

Because of the many conflicting usages in promotional and technical literature, the generic term *planning* has come to have very indefinite connotations. And now that interest in national, regional, and state planning seems destined to rival the initial impetus of the urban planning movement, more than ever we need some concrete, factual material from which to gather an accurate picture of what planning as a public undertaking is actually accomplishing today.

The history of the city planning has almost been the history of public planning in America, at least until 1933. Therefore, basic to an understanding of present problems is a careful study of the background from which modern urban planning has been projected. What are the problems facing administrators? What have been some of the pitfalls that must be avoided in the future? What are the underlying reasons for many of the failures? These are some of the questions that Dr. Walker has attempted to answer on the basis of his first-hand study of thirty-seven large city planning groups.

As the title indicates, the book deals primarily with planning as a function in city government. From this viewpoint the author follows the development of planning from the early "city beautification" projects, through the legal battles for extension of city zoning powers, and finally to a broad sweep of localities and personalities influential in shaping policies and action. Dr. Walker takes his theme to a practical conclusion with a careful

appraisal of the existent role of planning commission and technical staff in city administrative organization.

With early popular support for planning coming from the membership of women's clubs and commerce clubs, there originated an inevitable leaning toward city beautification encompassed in such undertakings as park constructions, roadway improvement and other similar moves with purely aesthetic motivation. As the zoning movement developed planning had to almost show a profit, as in many cases it did. The author points out that although there has been a constant struggle on the part of many reformers to broaden the scope of city planning, their efforts did not bear fruit until the early years of the depression when, paradoxically, many cities had to limit or entirely do away with planning activities due to financial troubles.

Economic and social reform movements are beginning to find expression in city improvement groups largely by force of necessity but also by virtue of a changing public attitude stemming from a favorable reaction to the social legislation undertaken by the federal government. In connection with the widening scope of civic planning the author's keen analysis of administrative and public relations problems throw much light on dangers likely to arise from future planning ventures, whether on the urban, state regional, or national level.

A very interesting section dealing with a history and analysis of the Chicago planning movement, a classic in urban planning development, well serves to point up promotional and administrative techniques which, successfully adapted to changing situations, might prove of value to similar activities. Also, the study succinctly warns of possible dangers.

In two extra sections, one dealing with a

final summary and critique of urban planning, the other with the principal recommendations of the Urbanism Committee of the National Resources Committee, Dr. Walker completes a well-rounded and valuable contribution in the field of planning literature. An unbiased study pleasantly lacking the usual promotional or technical air of much planning material, the book should well serve to clear the records for further implementation of problems arising in planning administration.

JOHN IVEY, JR.

*University of North Carolina*

ADMINISTRATIVE DECENTRALIZATION—A STUDY OF THE CHICAGO FIELD OFFICES OF THE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE. By David Bicknell Truman. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940. 211 pp. \$2.50.

The problem of decentralization of federal departmental administration has two major aspects: (1) that of the efficiency of the administrative process, and (2) that of degree of local control of policies and procedures. Dr. Truman deals with the first. The analyst of the first problem is faced with two problems: (1) what criteria are available by which to measure the degree of decentralization, and (2) what factors determine the degree of decentralization desirable? Criteria of measurement may include: (1) unitary versus pluralistic field organization, (2) frequency and importance of reference of questions to Washington, (3) number and specificity of regulations by which the central office controls field activities, (4) character of machinery used for handling appeals from field decisions. Dr. Truman takes the view that no one of these criteria is determinative; judgment must be based on an examination of all.

Another approach is to examine the factors which favor or resist decentralization. The former include: (1) standard-

ization of policies and procedures, (2) regulation by negotiation, (3) need of immediate action, (4) initiation of action in the field, (5) intimate continuing relations with state officials, (6) dealing with large numbers of citizens, (7) homogeneity of problems in a given limited area, (8) training and promotional policies. Factors favoring centralization are: (1) demand for uniformity as between field areas, (2) organization of auxiliary services on a departmental basis, (3) central office prosecution of regulatory cases, (4) interdependence of regulated markets, (5) geographical dispersion of objects of administrative action. Besides these various matters, the author devotes two chapters to a discussion of coordination and cooperation in the field.

While the subject is important and the available literature on it sparse, the author's treatment is far from satisfying. The work is informative but the original research materials are spread too thin. The problem of criteria needs more profound analysis and the criteria developed need to be applied more incisively.

HARVEY PINNEY

*New York University*

THE AMERICAN AGRICULTURAL PRESS, 1819-1860. By Albert Lowther Demaree. New York. Columbia University Studies in History of American Agriculture No. 8. New York: Columbia University Press, 1941. 430 pp. \$4.00. Illustrated.

Strangely enough, this is the first history of the farm press to be written. It is not only a history of the farm press, and a good one, but it is a picture of rural life during the period from 1819-1860 as seen through several hundred agricultural periodicals produced during that period. It was the agricultural press that started the farm on the road to scientific agriculture. It bridged and effected the transition from farming by the phases of the moon to



farming by scientific knowledge and principles.

During the period covered by this book more than four hundred journals devoted to agriculture were published in the United States. Many were short lived. Not all are covered by this volume. In fact, the bulk of the book is devoted to around two dozen of the most important journals.

In addition to an introductory statement on early American literature, the book is divided into three parts.

Part I is devoted to a general presentation of the nature of farm journalism of the period, using Skinner's *American Farmer* as exhibit number one. There are chapters on the editors, special features, advertising, rural poetry, etc. Part II consists of twenty-eight selected articles from various periodicals. They admirably present the flavor of farm journalism of a century ago. A wide range of topics is covered from Merino Sheep to Moral Culture of Slaves; from Chemical Agriculture to Travelogues. Part III summarizes the history of sixteen of these farm journals. This section covers the most important ones, with every region of the country represented.

The author has done an excellent job in a difficult field of historical research. He demonstrates marked skill in handling a mass of details. His selections have been wisely chosen. The first two parts by the author are extremely well written. There are several interesting illustrations. The entire volume is thoroughly documented. The volume demonstrates the merits of the neglected agricultural press as a source for historical research.

S. H. HOBBS, JR.

*University of North Carolina*

GROWTH AND DECLINE OF AGRICULTURAL VILLAGES.

By David R. Jenkins. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1940. 95 pp. \$1.60.

Here is an extension of the studies of Brunner and others of the now well-known 140 representative American agricultural villages surveyed at intervals in recent years. Special data on sex, age, occupation, and so on, already available for the villages, have been supplemented by field work of three months' duration.

Mr. Jenkins seeks first to explore those factors which distinguish growing from declining villages, and, secondly, to indicate some of the results of change in either direction. His conclusions are concerned, first, with factors influencing growth or decline and, secondly, with differences in the age and sex compositions of growing and declining villages and with the consequences of these differences.

The study is marred by a continuation of the tendency to consider as largely synonymous the terms *rural non-farm* and *village* (pp. 6, 20, 22). There appears also to this reviewer a lack of realization of the true importance in the total rural non-farm category of other types of villages, particularly suburban villages, and of open-country non-farm dwellers, especially in the "stringtowns" along our main highways. Possible growth or decline factors associated with distance relationships between villages and urban centers of various sizes would seem to warrant consideration, which they do not receive.

There can be no doubt, however, that every exploration of the American village beyond our present narrow limits of information is of value. This study is a genuinely worthwhile extension of its predecessors in its emphasis nationally upon factors other than those of trade which are important determinants of village structure and size change. Causes and results of growth and decline are surveyed, the population pyramid of villages in both categories is examined on a regional basis, and specific consequences

of these demographic factors for the family and the school are indicated. There is an adequate discussion of the methodology involved.

To achieve the full value of this study we must await a similar needed picture of other types of villages, particularly the suburban village and the industrial village.

VINCENT H. WHITNEY

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LAND TENURE POLICIES. By Henry W. Spiegel. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941. 171 pp. \$3.00. Tables.

Land use is inevitably related to land tenure, and for that reason no program of soil conservation or land reclamation can be wholly successful unless the problems of land tenure are also considered. The present interest in land conservation and the obvious necessity of evolving a permanent agricultural policy in the United States, therefore makes an authoritative review of land tenure policies in Europe and America unusually timely and welcome.

The author was born in Germany and studied at the University of Heidelberg before the Nazi regime came to power. After coming to America he studied at Cornell and Wisconsin. He has thus had a favorable opportunity to study land economics, including its institutional aspects, on both sides of the Atlantic. His book is proof that he has made the most of his opportunity. It discusses the legal background of land tenure, land inheritance, public control over land, farm credit, collective action, farm tenancy, and the objectives of land tenure policy.

The European peasant, he says, practices conservation because it is a tradition to do so. Suitable tenure institutions, he concludes, do not create the conservative spirit but are necessary prerequisites to

the rise of that spirit. In European countries inheritance is regarded as the heart of the tenure system. In the United States public opinion is still attached to the institutions of the equalitarian period and inclined to attribute to property in fee simple the character of a natural law. The English doctrine of tenure which denies the proprietor an absolute right has facilitated the growth of government interference with the landlord tenant relationship, and this helps to explain the present tendency toward national ownership.

The last chapter describes land tenure in Nazi Germany, where the avowed policy is not only agricultural self-sufficiency but the reestablishment of the peasantry as the backbone of the nation. The German Entailed Farms Law of 1933, which has probably aroused more interest abroad than any other aspect of the Nazi land policy, is held to be unsound and unpopular. Rewards are based on birth rather than ability or achievement; the disinherited children are forced out of the rural areas into the cities; family ties are weakened. Moreover, the big estates have not been disturbed, even though there is more concentration of land property in Germany than in any other country of the western world. The new regime is more interested in "crop factories" than in the improvement of the social and economic status of the farm workers.

In explaining the German Entailed Farms Law, the Agricultural Holdings Act of England, the Farmers' Relief Act of New South Wales, the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act of this country, and other current developments in land tenure, the book is highly informative. Useful, too, are the sections which show how land tenure is influenced by tax policies, different types of credit, and inheritance. But one finds, after reading the book, that

more questions have been raised in his mind than answered. Perhaps that was the author's intention, for he has no thesis, makes no recommendations. His work is entirely descriptive and analytical.

There are no conclusions, no lessons learned from Europe or from our own past experience to aid us in shaping a better land policy. Perhaps the author was too sensible to attempt an application; perhaps there can be none; but the reviewer felt a little cheated nevertheless.

PAUL W. WAGER

*University of North Carolina*

SALTYKOV AND THE RUSSIAN SQUIRE. By Nikander Strelsky. New York: Columbia University Press, 1940. 176 pp. \$2.50.

To the student of folk-regional sociology this interpretation of the Russian country squire of the last century gives useful insights into the slow growth of freedom on the land, still very much in process for post-Revolutionary Russia as well as the rest of the world. It is the author's thesis that the picture of the rural folkways of serfdom given by the classic writers of the period (Turgenev, Aksakov, Gogol, Goncharov, Tolstoy) tells only a partial story because of its over-emphasis on the exceptional individual and the upper class. He feels that, for a real understanding of the development of the Russian way of life and the types of landlord and serf which grew from it, we need the corrective viewpoint of the great Russian satirist, Saltykov.

Three central chapters titled *The Old Order Changes*, *The Doom within the New*, and *The Good Old Times* summarize Saltykov's minor sketches of the landlord and his two great satires, the Golovlyov Family and *Bygone Days* in Poshekhonie. Here we have a fierce indictment of the folkways of serfdom as exhibited in the modal type of serf-

owner, the country squire of average means and rank. This Swift of the Russian countryside concentrates his attack on the destructive pattern of man's relation to land, to work, to women and children, to knowledge, rather than on the particular social class from which he draws his material. His characters are caricatures in black and white, silhouettes entirely lacking "the color, music, and poetry inherent in the Russian scene." By this very fact his types emerge in stark black outline like the damning graphs of modern quantitative studies in social deficiency and decay. Saltykov's caricatures summarize the changing products of the folkways in an abstract type; yet this type is not the statistician's "average" landlord but a sort of concentrated residue of the traits we might expect to find in the ordinary run of country squires if we placed them in a system where nearly all human factors save exploitation, ignorance, and serfdom are abstracted. Such is the portrait of Yudushka Golovlyov, the sterile end-product of three generations of parasitic struggle for survival, who "fattens on decay."

In characterizing *Bygone Days* in Poshekhonie, the author says that "the book bears much the same kind of relationship to pre-Reform Russia as does Sinclair Lewis's *Main Street* to the American scene . . . . Both books are a large-scale cultural indictment, a satirically realistic representation of a certain way of life as exemplified by a particular group at a certain time, a way of life which has a generalizing force in the history of a people." From the point of view of communist research, the satirical abstraction of Saltykov's types present a real picture of the average country squire. In the conscious process of breaking down old folkways and building new revolu-



tionary types, Lenin used the destructive criticism of Saltykov and borrowed his whole arsenal of satirical neologism. Thus Saltykov, with his essentially Christian and democratic motivation, has become in spite of himself the ideologist of class struggle and economic materialism. The author of the present study in rejecting this posthumous honor, suggests a fascinating excursion into the sociology of knowledge for some student with a command of Russian. While accepting the validity of Saltykov's types, the author balances his harsh interpretation of many rural ways by citing parallel descriptions of the same trait from authors such as Gogol, who bring back the color, warmth, and richness of human relations that existed even under serfdom and Siberian exile and still survive collectivization and the concentration camp.

In a book consisting so largely of quotations and summaries from Saltykov, who is often nearly "untranslatable," the author is to be congratulated on his successful rendering of the Russian meaning. An appendix includes a good bibliography and some useful notes, and the volume is carefully indexed.

ALICE DAVIS

*University of North Carolina*

OLD AGE IN SWEDEN: A PROGRAM OF SOCIAL SECURITY.  
By Helen Fisher Hohman. Washington: Social Security Board, 1940. 305 pp. \$0.35.

The United States Social Security Board made this study to add to our meager data on old-age pensions. Although Swedish conditions differ from our own, yet many of the basic problems are common to both of these democracies. Furthermore, since the Swedish experiment has been in process for a number of years,

we may now evaluate it in the light of this longer perspective.

The Swedish system of old-age care has come as the result of long and careful study. In the last thirty years, public policy has evolved from the negative attitude of the nineteenth-century poor law, which punished destitution, through a period of liberal self-help and enlightened philanthropy, to the positive phase of prevention through social and economic planning.

The main objective in Sweden has been to make pensions adequate. Universal coverage, embracing all—men and women, wage earners, employers, and self-employed—is a feature of the system. The Swedes have concluded that social insurance should benefit the entire population rather than a limited number of "good risks" as selected by commercial insurance companies.

The Swedes have learned that a program for the aged must be comprehensive—it must include, in addition to pensions, many other basic provisions such as adequate medical services, good housing, and satisfactory institutional care. The Pension Board has provided medical services to prevent permanent invalidity and vocational training to help handicapped persons become economically self-sufficient. These are directed toward young people in particular, in order to forestall the need for relief.

The appendix contains a considerable amount of statistical data and an excellent bibliography of literature in two languages—Swedish and English. Twenty-one tables and seven charts are distributed through the body of the volume.

WILLIAM C. SMITH

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## NEW BOOKS RECEIVED

- THE INTEGRATION OF AMERICAN SOCIETY. A STUDY OF GROUPS AND INSTITUTIONS.** By Robert Cooley Angell. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1941. 228 pp. \$2.50.
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- A HISTORY OF FREEDOM OF TEACHING IN AMERICAN SCHOOLS.** By Howard K. Beale. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1941. 343 pp.
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## MEMORANDUM ON THE FIRST CREDIT COURSE IN PREPARATION FOR FAMILY LIVING

Dr. Hornell and Ella B. Hart's reference in their new edition of *Personality and the Family* to an article that appeared in the *Reader's Digest*, March 13, 1937, in which the course generally regarded as the first credit-giving instruction in preparation for family life was described as a course on sex in marriage has led to requests for the printing of the description of this course. The announcement of the course as it appeared in the bulletin of the School of Education, January 3, 1924, was as follows:

**PRESENT STATUS OF THE FAMILY.** This course treats the influences in modern life that are most seriously changing family life and creating the problems of the modern home. It is a rapid, comprehensive survey of the present situation of the family; and is designed for those who wish an understanding of the forces operating upon family life. It will also prove a useful introductory course for those who plan to elect other specialized courses relating to family problems. There will be six sessions of one and one-quarter hours each, on *Monday evenings, beginning February 4*, at 8.00, in University Building, 688 Boylston Street, corner of Exeter. Professor Groves will give the lectures. Time will be allowed at each session for discussion and questions. One-half point of credit toward the degree of Bachelor of Science in Education or Master of Education will be given those who attend all lectures and complete the assignments. The course may be attended by any one interested in the subject-matter whether academic credit is sought or not. The fee for the course is \$5.00, payable at the beginning; the fee for single lectures is \$1.00.

**SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT IN FAMILY LIFE.** An analysis of the difficulties of family associations as they appear in the modern home, with emphasis upon their psychological and sociological origins. The course is intended for those who desire knowledge of the conditions that hamper the construction of wholesome family life as well as for those who deal with special problems of family adjustment. It is not a course in family rehabilitation from the viewpoint of the social worker, but an investigation of problems of personal relationships within the family itself. Illustrations will be drawn from actual family situations.

Six sessions of one and one-quarter hours each, on *Monday evenings, at 8.00, beginning March 24*, at the University Building, Boylston and Exeter Streets. Credit (if desired) one-half point. Professor Groves, lecturer. Fee, \$5.00 for the course, \$1.00 for a single session.

*Note.* The course in Sociological Foundations of Education, given also by Professor Groves, may interest those concerned with education for the home. It is outlined on page 3 of this circular. Its afternoon hour may be more convenient for some parents and teachers.

I have never taught a course on Sex in Marriage or Sex Education. Dr. Maurice Bigelow of Columbia University pioneered along that line in his lectures on Social Hygiene. The Boston University course tied up with the noncredit lectures on Family Problems that Dr. Anna Garlin Spencer had previously given at Columbia but of which I did not know at the time. The history of this pioneering period in education for family life has been traced by Mrs. Lemo Dennis Rockwood of Cornell University and published in *Parent Education*, Volume II, Number 2 (May 15, 1935), pp. 10-16 and 47. Since this is now difficult to get, a part of this report was reprinted in Groves and Blanchard's *Readings in Mental Hygiene*, pp. 253-254.

This instruction in preparation for family life was introduced on the graduate level during the summer of 1924 at Columbia. There were two courses offered, one introductory and one advanced.

Some summers later in 1930, I offered for the first time a similar course at Harvard. This was the description.

SA14. PARENTAL EDUCATION. Five times a week, at 10. Professor Ernest R. Groves, University of North Carolina. The motives, development, and technique of parental education. Social conditions influencing American marriage, parenthood, and children. Experiments in training for-marriage and parenthood. Education and the conservation of the home.

It is my understanding that the description of my course in Introductory Sociology also given that same summer was the first time the word sociology was used in a Harvard catalogue.

ERNEST R. GROVES

University of North Carolina